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ABSTRACT

This collection of articles from Indian newspapers is designed for use in the secondary classroom to assist with the study of India. There are 12 categories of articles: (1) Women: Like Avis, #2 But Trying Harder; (2) Calcutta: City of Joy; (3) India: Feeling Its Curry; (4) Us & Them: Misunderstandings; (5) Those Monsoon Showers May Come Your Way; (6) Religious (In)tolerance: The Babri Dispute; (7) Caste and Outcast; (8) Problems Aplenty; (9) Election Year Politics; (10) Isms; Terror, Separat, National...; (11) India's Herblock, Darcy, Oliphant; and (12) Miscellaneous. (DB)

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Taj Mahal, Agra

PASSAGES FROM INDIA

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VOL. 1

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During the summer of 89, I travelled to India with 17 other American high school teachers on a Fulbright-Hays Seminar Grant to study Indian History and Culture. And as a teacher of the Afro-Asian World (Social Studies 9), now renamed, as we have the want to do, Global Studies 1, I read, travelled, and studied in all the areas of the course except for India. This was to be my jewel in the academic crown.

Upon acceptance in early April of 1989, the United States Department of Education and USEFI (United States Educational Foundation in India), in particular, began inundating me with pamphlets, suggested reading lists, articles, travel tips. This all culminated with a 2-plus day orientation program in Washington, D.C. just prior to departure. Four former Indian Fulbrighters tried to further sensitize us to India by sharing their thoughts and experiences (slides, music, incense, remembrances). Visits to Indian restaurants and a collective greeting at the Indian Embassy capped it off.

D.C. to Delhi is a real "schlep" as they say in Yiddish. We arrived at 3 A.M. the day after we left - add 9½ hours of time zones (I still don't understand that time aberration), 15 hours +/- flight time, and a two-hour layover in Frankfurt, W. Germany. As much as I read about India, viewed videos and TV productions, spoke to my Indian students (Elmont Memorial High School is blessed with a growing population from the Sub-Continent, and several of my students offered me their orientation program to their former home), listened to, queried, heard from former Fulbrighters - nothing totally prepared me for the immensity of what is India.

Indira Gandhi International Airport is like and unlike any airport in the world be it JFK, O'Hare, or Dulles. Multitudes of humanity at 3 A.M.; a whirling endless movement, but amidst that are people sleeping on the pavement. And, of course, the heat and humidity - it is instant (and a constant state of) meltdown. The difference between 3 A.M. and 3 P.M. (on that July day) is only a matter of a few degrees and a few percentage points; the temperature and humidity race each other towards 100. The smell of incense (by the end of the trip my olfactory (or is it old factory) could distinguish between jasmine, saffron, etc.) and the smell of urine reached my nostrils as we left the airport.

Yes it's all there - beggars on the streets, public defecation, the occasional lepers outside public monuments, the "holy" cows, ladies in saris with their forehead dot (bundis), saffron robed religious figures (sadhus) saying prayers, chanting mantras. One must not dwell on the negatives or what we have stereotyped India to be. To often our media, and we share the guilt by internalizing and accepting these short vignettes or terse commentaries as being universal, portray India as a land of beggars with immense poverty; but there is beauty, wealth, productivity, and industry. We look at India as India during the Raj, or the Mughal dynasties - that faraway place in a faraway time, those bejeweled, bygone days that mystify and captivate our imaginations. In a way India straddles time zones for much of rural India, village India as Oscar Lewis said, lives in an age gone by.

But the urban India, Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta are like Paris, D.C., and New York.

So India stands with one foot in the distant past and another in the 20th century. Arranged marriages, dowry deaths, caste obligations, exist side by side with Nobel Prize experiments in light refraction, nuclear technology, and satellites being orbited around the earth.

One measure of a society is to read its daily newspapers; India's newspapers range in quality from my favorites (the New York Times and Newsday) to the lower end of the journalistic spectrum (the pap one can scan while waiting at the supermarket checkout line). There is no lack of choice and more encouraging is that there is freedom of the press. There is a vocal, verbal, loyal and otherwise, opposition with a full sociopolitical spectrum of viewpoints. As I read the daily papers (Indian Express, The Times of India, The Hindustan Times, The Hindu, The Statesman et al), I felt I was beginning to grasp the vitality, the dynamism of this wonderful nation.

Yes, there is poverty aplenty. Yes, it's a land of 500,000 plus villages of mud brick homes. Yes, marriages are still arranged and some girls are married in their early teens - don't harbor on the negative. Sense it, feel it, experience it and you'll love it as I did.

I've collected newspaper articles over the 40 plus days I sojourned on the subcontinent. They come from all over - from Srinigar in the Vale of Kashmir to the bone white sands of Madras beaches; from the urbane streets of Bombay to the Ghats on the Ganga in Varanasi; from Agra and its marble magnificance, the Taj Mahal, to Calcutta, the City of Joy, and Mother Teresa, bless her soul. I've divided them into several categories with catchy Madison Avenue titles???; and I've added some comments to each section including some possible uses for some of the articles in the classroom.

Nam aste.

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WOMEN:LIKE AVIS ,#2 BUT TRYING HARDER

WOMEN: LIKE AVIS, #2 BUT TRYING HARDER

On my very first night in New Delhi at the Claridges Hotel, I was regaled with a wedding ceremony. The groom arrived on horseback decked out in a jeweled turban and a cream white suit. He was preceded up the local streets by a marching band fully attired in what I saw as disheveled high school band uniforms. Members of the groom's family, males mostly, walked on all sides of the groom in a less than military march. The musical fanfare was accompanied by a light show of sorts; men carrying some neon lights in a triangular shape (10 of them) walked ahead of the band. This gaudy, loyal column approached the Claridge at a funeral pace, adding passersby, me included, along their route.

In the hotel the bride's family and female members of the groom's entourage awaited the groom's dramtic entrance. The women wore beautiful saris, each one more beautiful than the other - silk mostly with some cotton ones, most sewn with gold or silver thread. It was a stunning, beautiful assemblage of stunningly beautiful women of all ages. This was an upper-class affair, and although many Indians perceive all Americans as affluent, virtually every member of the wedding party could have bought and sold this Long Island teacher. The sheer joy that this event produced overflowed on to the foreign guests staying at the hotel. Many of my fellow Fulbrighters were invited to join in the wedding. So here I am - Chicago Cub t-shirt, a pair of beige khakis and my Reeboks - I felt like an outcast albeit a most welcomed one. The bride entered led by two flower petal tossing childrem. She wore a beautiful Indian outfit - an overblouse and pants - of cream, yellow, beige, and muted red. Flowers in her hair, a large ring in her nostril and other jewel accessories added color and enchantment to her presence. My eyes looked upon her before her groom caught his first glimpse - so technically I saw her first. For, yes, this was an arranged marriage, a traditional one.

To an American who has sampled the American institution of marriage on more than one occasion, and one who believes in it wholeheartedly, I was curious to the pros and cons of the "arranged marriage." There are many. Imagine as a teenagers all the pressure of dating, wondering if your prince will ever come, etc. - your Indian counterpart doesn't have these concerns. He knows his parent will find someone befitting the family's status.

India is not a marital paradise. Women are sill second class citizens but this is changing especially among the urban educated (this, however, is a minute percentage of the nation's total population). The articles on the following pages indicate some of the problems that Indian women face - some uniquely theirs, others quite universal.

A) Dowry deaths - yes, they are shocking. You might want to ask your students why they are happening? What does it tell one about society? If we complain about our mothers-in-law, consider the young Indian bride's plight.

B) What physical abuse are young women in our society subjected to (date rape, etc.) - try to make the students see that the abuse of women is not uniquely an Indian phenomenon.

C) The matrimonial ads attached here are hysterical. Have the kids read some of the guy's ads and some of the ladies. Again what can one learn about a society by reading a series of these ads? Tell the students to bring some ads from their local papers (marriage ads) and compare them or have the kids tell you what can be learned about that society from those ads.

D) Indian movies - I have an article here about soaked heroines; and, one could compare our movies to the Indian variety along the lines of using women as lures to increase the box office. Have the students bring in movie ads that are suggestive, exploitive.

E) Equal pay for equal work - list a variety of jobs on the board and see if the students feel/know that women and men have an equal opportunity e.g. pro sports, medicine, law, government. Several of the articles included seem to indicate that it's an uphill battle for women to break into certain professions, and even then get equal pay.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES
EVENING News
Vol XLVI No 157 New Delhi Wednesday July 5 1989 75 Paise 12 Pages

WOMAN STRANGLED FOR DOWRY

EN Correspondent

NEW DELHI, July 5 — A 21-year-old woman was strangled with a rope and cremated in North-West Delhi because she could not bring sufficient dowry.

Saroj was strangled with a rope by her husband, Sudesh Pal, and his sister, Sunita, in their house at Jatkod village under Kanjhawala police station in the afternoon of June 23, alleged Mrs Babli, Saroj's sister married to Sudesh Pal's brother, Shri Pal. She is the sole witness to the murder of her sister.

Mrs Babli, who made her statement to the Punjabi Bagh Sub-Divisonal magistrate, said at about 2 p.m. Sudesh Pal and Sunita forcibly tied a rope around Saroj's neck and were strangling her when she rushed to the room hearing Saroj scream.

SISTER A WITNESS

Sudhes Pal let Saroj go and pounced on Babli. Babli, according to her statement, was kicked and hit with fists before being locked up in a room.

Soon after, Saroj was strangled. There was no one else in the house at that time.

Later in the afternoon, when all the family members returned home, they decided to cremate Saroj. Even the village pradhan, Mr Bhagwan, a distant relative of the Sudesh Pal family, agreed to keep quiet.

Saroj was cremated the same afternoon. Her family members,. however, were informed at 8 p.m. only, at least five hours after the cremation.

Mrs Babli and her parents, who reported the matter to the Punjabi Bagh SDM later, complained that Sudesh Pal and his family had been harassing both the sisters for not bringing television, fridge and similar dowry items. Mrs Babli said both of them were beaten up regularly by their in-laws.

The magistrate completed his inquiries yesterday and forwarded his report to the local police last night.

North-West District police chief S. K. Jain said a case of murder and harassment was registered against Sudesh Pal and his family this morning. A police team had been sent to the village for arresting the accused.

He said Sudesh Pal and Sunita are wanted for murder while Babli's husband, Shri Pal, and his parents are wanted for harassment for dowry.

Dowry now or inheritance later?

It was an article in Manushi that sparked off the recent debate on dowry. Is women's right to equal inheritance the solution to the dowry problem?

Seetha speaks to women activists to find out.

B*UND File* and *Jalta Sawaal.* Two searing films on a burning issue — dowry. Long after they were telecast, letters continue to pour into newspaper offices, expressing people's anguish and anger at the system.

But public mourning is all that dowry victims like the Kanpur and Palghat sisters and Shalini Malhotra get. For despite legislative measures and increased awareness, the spectre of dowry still looms large over Indian women, taking its toll of lives both after marriage and before.

But for how long are women to be made sacrificial lambs at the altar of dowry? What is behind this insatiable greed? Who is to vanquish the system and where does its weak spot lie? There are no easy answers to these questions. For though women's groups realise the complexity of the issue — involving as it does various other aspects like family prestige, the position of women in society, attitudes towards marriage — there has been little effort to study the whys and wherefores of the system. The causes of dowry, says a Saheli worker, are yet to be identified, there are no meaningful studies into the middle class psyche to see what makes people demand dowry.

But now a great dowry debate is on. sparked off by an article in *Manushi.* . Its editor. Madhu Kishwar, noted that a pledge taken in the early 1980s not to attend any dowry weddings in the hope that this would build up pressure within families and communities against the practice did not have the desired effect. "Most young women for whose benefit we wish to 'abolish' dowry are not willing to give up dowry." The thrust of Kishwar's argument was that women's right to equal inheritance and equal control over property must be translated from paper law into concrete fact to effect any meaningful change in their status. Till then, merely calling for abolition of dowry will make no difference either to the practice or to the powerless status of women as daughters and wives.

Kishwar has a point but it's not a new one. The awareness that dowry has to be tackled from various fronts was there at the time the anti-dowry movement was at its peak in the early and mid-'80s. The movement started off when in the late '70s a large number of married women were either murdered or committed suicide due to dowry-related harassment.

Campaign

The attack on the system was three-pronged, says Ranjana Kumari, vice-president of the Mahila Dakshita Samiti. The press highlighted such cases. Pramila Dandavate moved a bill in Parliament seeking an amendment to the Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961. This was later withdrawn in favour of an official bill. And five major national women's groups — the All-India Women's Conference, Mahila Dakshita Samiti, National Federation of Indian Women, YWCA, and Janwadi Mahila Samiti — got together to form the Dahej Virodhi Chetna Manch. A number of other organisations — women's groups like Saheli and Karmika, the Centre for Women's Development Studies and student bodies — also joined in.

The Manch took up a wide range of issues besides changes in laws — equal inheritance rights, registration of marriages and all gifts given at the time of marriage, family courts, legal aid and employment opportunities. The consistent pressure and a massive rally at the Boat Club in 1982 culminated in the Dowry Prohibition (Amendment) Act being passed.

But the practice has not even been dented. Rather, over the years it has spread — to communities and regions which were not practising it earlier — and intensified among communities which were practising it.

Will equal inheritance rights make a difference? Many believe it will — to an extent. For dowry, quite often, is seen as premortem inheritance ie inheritance before death. People, Saheli volunteers say, often give dowry instead of giving a share in property. This is one of the reasons why girls themselves are not willing to forgo dowry, even as a matter of principle.

But there are basic differences, not the least that one comes into an inheritance only after a parent's death, which may well be 20 to 25 years after marriage. Dowry, on the other hand, caters to the immediate needs of the in-laws for cash and luxury goods.

In a paper on "Women and Land Rights in India" in the *Journal of Peasant Studies,* Bina Agarwal of the Institute of Economic Growth lists five differences between dowry and inheritance:

The quantum of dowry has no relation to the shares of sons in ancestral property. While the sons' shares are fixed, the amount of dowry depends on a range of factors such as the economic situation of the family, the affluence and qualifications of a groom and the social status of his family, the attractiveness of the bride, the marriage alliances contracted by her sisters.

Whether or not dowry is given

depends on the discretion of the parents and brothers; unlike inheritance, it cannot be demanded as a right.

Dowry is not often in a woman's control.

Dowry is almost always in the form of movables, it was even so in vedic times.

Dowry is not a universal practice even among propertied groups nor is its incidence uniform across the country.

Yet Bina Agarwal anticipates "that if equal inheritance rights become a reality, it will make a dent in dowry." In support of this argument, she points out that in communities where women have equal inheritance rights, dowry doesn't exist.

There are others like Urvashi Butalia of Kali for Women, the feminist publishing house, who feel dowry and inheritance should not be linked, apart from the fact that inheritance is an issue only for a very small group. "They are two separate issues. By accepting the link we are helping dowry to continue. We should say women should have equal rights to inheritance. And women should not be bought or sold."

In any case dowry has become a marriage ritual in itself and girls' parents see their status and honour as being involved. So unless a family really cannot afford to give both, dowry will continue. And dowry will continue to remain an issue for those with no property. For example, most middle class families only have one house which, it is assumed, will go to the son.

All said and done, equal inheritance rights by themselves will not ensure that women have greater control over their assets. Urvashi Butalia points out that there are hundreds of women who give up property voluntarily. Besides fathers and brothers are themselves averse to equal inheritance rights as they fear a division of property. Given all this, how do equal inheritance rights make a difference?

This is not to argue against granting equal inheritance rights. But, clearly, something more is needed.

"The real issue," says Bina Agarwal, "is how to ensure that women live with dignity and independence, how their bargaining position can be strengthened." What they need, according to her, "is economic and political empowerment."

One way of doing this is economic independence, giving the maximum job opportunities. "A job is a source of great personal strength," say Saheli volunteers. But this view ignores the fact that most women work only to accumulate their dowries and that they have no control over their salaries — either in their parental or marital home.

So what becomes essential is giving women a greater say in decisions affecting their lives. Right now they have none, even in such personal matters as dress, in extreme cases. "I have seen husbands buying bras for their wives while the women stood in a corner," exclaims a Saheli volunteer, "That is really the pits."

No wonder then that women themselves do not take a stand

R. L. BALAKRISHNAN

WANTED, A CHANGE IN ATTITUDE: As long as marriage remains a commercial transaction between families, the dowry system cannot be wished away.

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against dowry. For their opinion isn't asked, except when it comes to their trousseau. In fact, Saheli volunteers feel it is "unreal to think of girls refusing dowry. It is so ingrained in them."

But what happens if a girl picks up courage to refuse to go ahead with a so-called "dowry marriage". Saheli came across one such case some years back. The parents kicked up a big fuss talking about *izzat*, the girl's future marriage prospects and that of her sisters.

This is where attitudes towards marriage and women become important. Bina Agarwal feels it is very important for a girl to have a choice in marriage. Sujata Madhok, coordinator, south Asia, Inter Press Service, feels there is no solution to dowry unless one does away with the institution of arranged marriages. "As long as marriage is a transaction between two families where the determining factor is their respective financial status and not the individuals, dowry will stay. If a man is seen as taking a liability away from the parents, he has to be compensated for the burden he is taking on."

Till such time as society's attitude towards single and divorced women changes, women will not be able to take an effective stand against dowry. The pressure on a girl to get married and stay married is a major factor in her agreeing to take a dowry along and putting up with harassment. Parents themselves are not willing to give even moral support to a woman who walks out of her marital home.

Over the years the practice of dowry has spread to communities and regions where it wasn't prevalent before. Will equal inheritance rights make a difference? Many believe it will — to an extent. For dowry, quite often, is seen as pre-mortem, ie inheritance before death. People, say women's activists, often give dowry instead of giving a share in property. This is one of the reasons why girls themselves are not willing to forgo dowry, even as a matter of principle.

As long as girls continue to be seen as a burden, not just financial, they will continue to be married off to those accused in bride-burning cases. This is what happened in the Sudha Goel case, says Ms Madhok. The husband had been given a death sentence by the trial court, but was acquitted by the Delhi high court and was freed. After an appeal, the Supreme Court sentenced him to life imprisonment but the sentence was not carried out for 18 months. Meanwhile, the man remarried and had a child by his second wife. A Saheli volunteer narrated a similar case.

The onus of tackling dowry, then, does fall on the girls and their families. And for this, girls will have to change their perceptions about themselves. They have to use their education to "fight for equal inheritance", according to Bina Agarwal and not, as a Saheli volunteer puts it, "to see how I can get a husband." To this end, Saheli has started awareness campaigns in colleges.

Ultimately, individuals have to fight, say Saheli volunteers, in order to change society. No amount of legislative or institutional support from the government is going to help if women do not put their foot down. Yes, it is like choosing between the devil and the deep blue sea but one has to see where greater self-respect lies. And one has to force society to accord respect to a woman who has the courage to rebel against harassment. ■

922 women burnt to death

NEW DELHI, August 7.

MORE than 922 women were burnt to death in 1988 due to dowry, the Lok Sabha was informed today.

In a written reply to Prof. K. V. Thomas, the minister of state for home affairs, Mr P. Chidambaram, said the dowry prohibition Act, 1961 was amended in 1984 and 1986 to make the law more stringent. The Indian Penal Code, the Criminal Procedure Code, 1973 and the Indian Evidence Act, 1872 have also been amended to deal effectively not only with dowry death cases but also with cases of cruelty to married women.

CIVIL SERVICES: In the civil service examinations last year, the percentage of successful women was 16 per cent, against 14.6 per cent in 1987, the minister told Mr Vijay N. Patil, report agencies.

Yet another dowry death in Capital

By A Staff Reporter

NEW DELHI, August 7:

THERE was yet another dowry death in the Capital last week, when 22-year-old Vimlesh met with a tragic and horrible end at the hands of her in-laws at their house in the Moresarai Railway colony in north Delhi.

Vimlesh died of burns at the Jayaprakash Narayan hospital on Friday. In her dying statement, she said that her in-laws had set her on fire, and that they had been torturing her since her marriage two-and-a-half-years ago. Their demands were specific: give us the houses belonging to your brothers in Vikaspuri and in Dilshad Gardens. Five of her in-laws were arrested, but her father-in-law, Nahar Singh, a railway employee escaped, and was still absconding.

Vimlesh came from Anand Parbat, in Central Delhi, where she lived with her widowed mother and six brothers. She married Vinod, a 28-year-old businessman in early 1987. She had two daughters, 18-month-old Kanchan, and a four-month-old baby.

Her family alleged that she was regularly beaten up. She was often kept hungry for days, and her in-laws refused to let her use the phone or meet her brothers.

Last Wednesday, she was beaten up before she was set on fire, according to her family. She sustained 100 per cent burns. She was taken to hospital where she succumbed to her burns.

A case of murder was registered, and a manhunt launched for Nahar Singh.

In another case, Kanta 25, of Old Seemapuri, was found severely burnt in her house on Sunday. She was rushed to Guru Tegh Bahadur hospital, were she was referred to Lok Nayak Jayaprakash Narayan hospital, but she succumbed to her burns.

While the police were investigating, Kanta's brother lodged a complaint saying that she had been continually harassed by her mother-in-law, Munni Devi, and her brother-in-law, Ram Kishore. The police arrested the two accused.

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179 dowry deaths in State

New Delhi, July 20 (UNI): Maharashtra registered the largest number of dowry deaths in the country during 1988, followed by Karnataka and Madhya Pradesh, Minister of State for Personnel P. Chidambaram told the Rajya Sabha on Thursday.

In a written reply, he said Maharashtra reported 294 dowry deaths, Karnataka 179 and Madhya Pradesh 135.

Dowry Harassment: A young housewife of Rajajinagar has complained to the Subramanyanagar police yesterday that her husband and father-in-law allegedly harassed her for dowry.

Mrs K.R. Nalini also alleged that her husband, V.N. Murthy, and his father, who are in possession of her jewellery worth over Rs one lakh, have disappeared from their house. She suspected that they might be shifting houses to escape from being caught.

She said she married Murthy in 1984. After a year, Murthy and his father reportedly started harassing Mrs Nalini to bring Rs 30,000 more from her parents. They also demanded that a site which was in her name, should be transferred to her husband's name.

She has also alleged that before the marriage her husband concealed the fact that he was an epileptic patient. The police are investigating.

Atrocities on women on rise in Bihar

By ANEETA SHARMA
The Times of India News Service
PATNA, July 20:

ATROCITIES on women in Bihar are on the rise. According to the state government's report, 76 cases of rape, 74 cases of kidnapping, 95 cases of outraging modesty, 22 dowry-related murders and 15 cases of bride burning have been registered this year. The official statistics further reveals that during last five years as many as 994 women were murdered because of dowry disputes and another 516 brides were burnt to death.

The same period saw the registration of 2,421 cases of rape and of these just one year that is 1986 witnessed 691 cases of rape.

The period 1983-87 also, registered a significant rise in the number of kidnapping cases. Of 1,874 cases filed as many as 442 cases were registered in 1987 alone, making it the "year of kidnapping." But 1988 saw a tremendous upsurge in police atrocities on women. While official statistics were silent, the news papers were filled with stories of police atrocities on women with the Pararia case hitting the headlines all over the country.

In fact the year ended with the Papri Bose Roy kidnapping case of Bhagalpur in which the state government did everything possible to protect the criminals who were responsible for the outrage.

The citizens of Bhagalpur took to the streets and for one whole week the city was paralysed. Social activists commented that 1988 could best be described as the year of "police atrocities on women."

According to the 1981 census Bihar's population was 6.98 crores. Of this, women numbered 3.39 crores and men numbered 3.58 crores. While population wise there was almost a parity, the literacy rate for men at 37.78 per cent was double

LIFE AND LEISURE

Barbaric outrage against woman

Pratik Kanjilal

ONE version colours the terrible outrage in communal hue. Ms Santaraji Devi, the 30-year-old social worker of village Souraha, was gang-raped and paraded naked because she had the audacity to marry a Muslim. So at least say some of the Muslims in this remote settlement 30 km from Gorakhpur in northeastern Uttar Pradesh. And they might not be entirely wrong. But Ms Santaraji's beastly torture early last month had perhaps more to do with the frustrations of a rebuffed local political don, Mr Parasnath Yadav. Mr Yadav had courted Ms Santaraji's favour but without success. The attractive and reasonably well educated lady, widowed six years-ago, had instead married a Muslim four years her junior, flying in the face of public opinion.

It was defiance far beyond Mr Yadav's sufferance. And he had almost the whole village with him, shocked as they were by Ms Santaraji's marriage across the religious line. Using his considerable influence, he had her husband, Mr Ali Raza, arrested on trumped-up charges. With him behind bars, Ms Santaraji was gang-raped, then stripped in public, paraded on an ass for four hours and then expelled from her village. The rest was silence. Indeed, until a local school teacher, Mr Devilal Singh, leaked the story to a Gorakhpur daily ten days later, even the district police headquarters was unaware of the atrocity. Said Mr Singh: "This could easily be the worst crime against women this decade. It was a perverted nautanki (show), shocking".

Whereabouts not known

The victim of the nautanki, Ms Santaraji Devi, debased, shattered, has left village Souraha for good; no one knows her whereabouts. Mr Ali Raza has been released from jail but avoids meeting anyone. This reporter, despite many attempts, could not manage to see him. Their marriage is over, torn asunder by barbarity that would shame the policemen of Baghpat who defiled Ms Maya Tyagi nine years ago.

Ms Santaraji had met Mr Ali Raza early last year after she got employment in the government's Angan Bari scheme, a woman's programme that runs rural creches and pre-school informal education centres in every village. The job had virtually saved her from destitution; after her first husband had died six years ago, she had only a government pension of Rs. 60 to bring up her six children. The Angan Bari salary of Rs. 250 allowed her a fair degree of independence for the first time.

Mr Ali Raza was employed in the Adult Education Programme, and they began to live together in Rampur from mid-May this year. They were married in the registry office, and initially at least, the wedding did not raise too many eyebrows. But soon the couple became the talk of the village, stoked by Mr Yadav, Rampur's gram pradhan. Stung and rebuffed, the village headman swore he would teach them a lesson.

Procedure violation

In the afternoon of June 7, Mr Yadav barged into their house. In the fracas that ensued, Mr Raza was beaten up by the headman's Hindu supporters. The police arrived and removed the three protagonists to the Campierganj police station about 13 km away. Mr Raza was remanded to custody but Ms Santaraji and Mr Parasnath were released, contravening standard procedure which requires all persons immediately connected with a case to be taken in for questioning. Worse, the woman was handed over to the villagers, to be used as they saw fit.

And then began the abominable outrage. Ms Santaraji was taken to the house of Mr Badri Kisat, one of the dadas of Rampur. At nightfall they entered her room. She was repeatedly raped till the early hours. Everyone seemed to be wanting to have his fill. At dawn, after satiating half a dozen men, she made a desperate bid to escape. But she could then hardly walk and was predictably recaptured and punished for her temerity.

Outrage

A grand carnival of sexual insult was arranged. Mr Bijlee Singh, assistant pradhan and Mr Parasnath's right hand man, and Mr Phool Singh, another heavyweight, were placed in charge of special effects. They cropped her hair, garlanded her with a necklace of shoes, painted half her face with blacking and half with lime, stripped her, smeared her body with red paint, sat her on an ass and paraded her for four hours through every lane in the locality. The bizarre procession featured amateur music-makers heralding the principal exhibit with drums and trumpets. The pradhan's bullet motorcycle, symbol of power in the outback, brought up the rear. At any given time, at least a hundred people were involved in the proceedings. Ms Santaraji was stoned and beaten with lathis all along the 30-km route. She often fell off the ass, only to suffer the indignity of being hauled back by the breasts. Finally, she was thrown out of the village and warned never to return. "I don't think anything like this has ever happened anywhere in the world", said Mr Jagdish Prasad Gupta, village headman of Gangi Bazar, an adjacent hamlet.

Reign of terror

Mr Yadav's reign of terror began last July when he was elected gram pradhan. Significantly enough, his mechanical charger, the Bullet, dates from the same time. Village leaders accuse him of letting loose a spate of violence and extortion. He is alleged to have links with the Campierganj police and with Mr Gulab Singh, chairman of the District Board and the late minister, Mr Vir Bahadur Singh's cousin. These and the compelling phantasm of the giant motorcycle enabled him to impose a totalitarian freedom in the region. So complete was his power that a total news blackout of the June 7-8 incidents could be engineered until the Gorakhpur daily 'Chetna' carried the story.

An embarrassed constabulary then hurriedly got a report filed by the village chowkidar. Three persons, Mr Rasul, Mr Jethu and Mr Ramsevak harijan, were arrested in a dawn raid. According to eyewitnesses, Mr Yadav and Mr Phool Singh tried to bribe the sub-inspector. Already under a cloud, the officer refused to get them acquitted and they eventually surrendered in court. Astonishingly, all five were granted bail. It is alleged that no case has been filed against Mr Bijlee Singh, a key figure.

Police transfers

Gorakhpur's Special Superintendent of Police, Mr Manoj Kumar, has transferred all personnel who were on duty at Campierganj between the incident and the filing of the report, and has instituted a search for the missing woman and the 13 accused. He has done far more than the average IPS officer, but he is an idealist who goes strictly by the book. His expectations are perhaps unrealistic and he has no sympathy for the woman. As the puts it: "Why should I fight for someone who is not prepared to fight for herself? Why does she not return when we have made it safe for her to do so?"

He refuses to accept the fact that there is no such guarantee of safety outside city limits, that the woman would have to be insane to bank on the police after their glring failures. He takes a legalistic stance and this incident ranks pretty low in his carefully graduated scale of crimes against women. Major premise: no one has been killed; minor premise: no bride has been burnt; therefore it is commonplace case of rape. Period. He prefers to ignore the flamboyant confidence of the perperators and all that it implies. And anyway, the gravity of such a grotesque crime cannot be evaluated by conventional standards. Further, he dismisses any publicity given to the incident as petty sensationalism.

(NEWSCRIPT).

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Rush for marriage solemnity

GURUVAYUR (Kerala), July 16 (UNI): While ecstatic devotees jostle inside the temple for a darshan of Lord Krishna, there is a rush outside of eager brides and bridegrooms in all their finery, waiting for their turn to tie the wedding knot before the lord.

The scene has become quite familiar and the famed Guruvayur temple has emerged as a major marriage centre in Kerala.

Getting married in the sanctified precincts of temples has been an accepted custom in Kerala, but the pride of place goes to the Guruvayur temple where between 50 and 100 marriages are solmenised almost every day. On a single day last year as many as 172 couples tied the knot in front of this temple, perhaps the only place in the country where such a large number of marriages are solmenised every day," said an official of the Guruvayur Devaswom which administers the temple.

Generally, Hindu marriages are taboo in the Malayalam months of 'Mithunam' 'Karkatakam', and 'Kanni'. But months make no difference in Guruvayur as marriages taking place even during these months, are mostly of Gulf Malayalees faced with time constraints.

Until ten years ago, marriages were held inside the temple, near the golden flag-mast, but when the number increased, the venue was shifted to the outside, on the eastern gate-side where two mandapams were built for the purpose.

The mandapams, however, are far too inadequate to cater to the increasing requirement as the horde of couples queue up.

A special feature of Guruvayur marriages is that 'thalikettu' (tying of the sacred 'mangalasutra' around the brides neck) is performed even during the inauspicious 'rahukalam', usually shunned for all holy purposes.

At Guruvayur, all the time that the sanctum sanctorum remains open is auspicious time. Weddings can be held any time between 5 am and 12.30 pm, and between 4.30 pm and 8.30 pm. The preference is generally for the morning session.

Due to the rush and the limited number of mandapams, each couple is allowed barely seven minutes for the wedding ceremony. After going quickly through the rituals, including tying of thali, the couple has to vacate the mandapam for the next in the line.

A fee of Rs. 50 is collected by the devaswom for the services of a priest and for the provision of the traditional instrumental music of chenda and nadaswaram.

The temple has no facility for the registration of the marriages, but this could be done at the office of the Guruvayur township.

Since the seven minutes is too inadequate time for some, specially the Brahmins, the remaining rituals are performed in nearby 'satrams' (a lodging place) after the formal exchange of garlands at the mandapam.

"The time allotted is sufficient for Nair marriages which are very simple" a temple official said.

The marriage boom in Guruvayur has led to the mushrooming of new hotels where wedding feasts are served. The hotels charge between Rs. 16 and Rs. 24 per head for the feast depending on the number of 'payasams' (pudding) served.

The Kerala State Tourism Development Corporation (KSRTC), which has two hotels near the temple, undertakes up to a maximum of ten feasts a day.

Most of the marriages held in Guruvayur are in fulfilment of vows taken by parents.

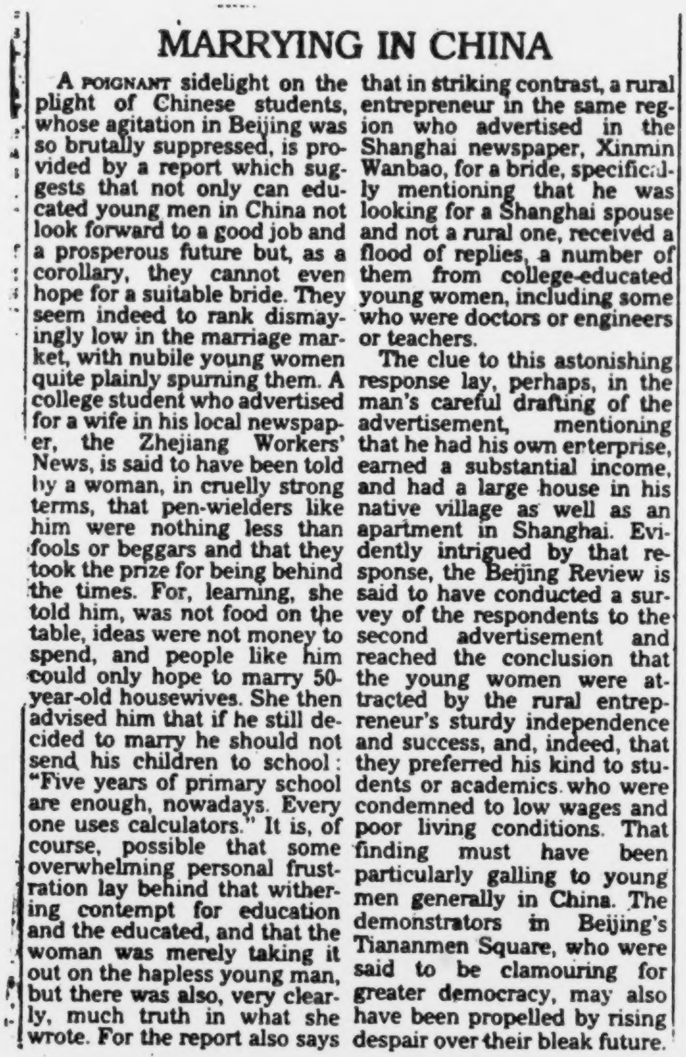
The boom is partly attributed to the increasing number of love marriages and inter-caste marriages. Non-Hindus, however, are not permitted to use the 'Mandapam'.

Malayalees working in the Gulf countries prefer to have their marriages conducted in Guruvayur as they could perform the ceremony on any day they like.

Unlike other temples, there is no particular festival season or special religious occasion for this temple. There is an unceasing flow of devotees into the sacred abode of Lord Krishna throughout the year.

The revenue collection of the temple is about Rs. 22 lakh a month.

21



MARRYING IN CHINA

A POIGNANT sidelight on the plight of Chinese students, whose agitation in Beijing was so brutally suppressed, is provided by a report which suggests that not only can educated young men in China not look forward to a good job and a prosperous future but, as a corollary, they cannot even hope for a suitable bride. They seem indeed to rank dismayingly low in the marriage market, with nubile young women quite plainly spurning them. A college student who advertised for a wife in his local newspaper, the Zhejiang Workers' News, is said to have been told by a woman, in cruelly strong terms, that pen-wielders like him were nothing less than fools or beggars and that they took the prize for being behind the times. For, learning, she told him, was not food on the table, ideas were not money to spend, and people like him could only hope to marry 50-year-old housewives. She then advised him that if he still decided to marry he should not send his children to school: "Five years of primary school are enough, nowadays. Every one uses calculators." It is, of course, possible that some overwhelming personal frustration lay behind that withering contempt for education and the educated, and that the woman was merely taking it out on the hapless young man, but there was also, very clearly, much truth in what she wrote. For the report also says that in striking contrast, a rural entrepreneur in the same region who advertised in the Shanghai newspaper, Xinmin Wanbao, for a bride, specifically mentioning that he was looking for a Shanghai spouse and not a rural one, received a flood of replies, a number of them from college-educated young women, including some who were doctors or engineers or teachers.

The clue to this astonishing response lay, perhaps, in the man's careful drafting of the advertisement, mentioning that he had his own enterprise, earned a substantial income, and had a large house in his native village as well as an apartment in Shanghai. Evidently intrigued by that response, the Beijing Review is said to have conducted a survey of the respondents to the second advertisement and reached the conclusion that the young women were attracted by the rural entrepreneur's sturdy independence and success, and, indeed, that they preferred his kind to students or academics who were condemned to low wages and poor living conditions. That finding must have been particularly galling to young men generally in China. The demonstrators in Beijing's Tiananmen Square, who were said to be clamouring for greater democracy, may also have been propelled by rising despair over their bleak future.

STATESMAN July 8

MATRIMONIALS MATRIMONIAL

TIMES classifieds

WANTED GROOMS

155 / 25, Punjabi Khatri, Slim, homely beautiful girl, B.Com respectable family. Seeks suitable match, early marriage. Write Box 46505, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C35709)

157 / 29 / 1225 pose Punjabi Arya homely girl, seeks businessman Delhi based groom. Write Box 10480, Navbharat Times, New Delhi-2. (C36612)

27 / 160 Maharashtrian cultured Maratha M.S.W. good-looking girl invites alliance from well-settled, educated boys preferably from abroad. No bar. Write Box H 038—S, , Times of India, Bombay-400001. (AP1440)

AGGARWAL status family invite alliance from immigrant green card holder boy for 25 / 157 / 60 postgraduate microbiology girl going to states for doctrate. Caste no bar. Tel. 2025365. Write Box U 813—K, Times of India, Bombay-400001. (BYDP118879)

AGRAWAL parents invite correspondence from professionals doctors engineers for their beautiful daughter 28 Chemical Engineer working U.S.A. citizen. Write Box U 525—S, , Times of India, Bombay-400001. (BYDP117182)

ALLIANCE for Agrawal girl 28 / 160 beautiful fair smart slim stylish convent educated post graduate (computer). Write Box U 452—S, Times of India, Bombay-400001. (BYDR118367)

ALLIANCE for attractive Srivatsa, Vadagalai Iyengar post graduate girl 24 / 161 from modern well-settled professionals. Write Box 46454, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C4560)SC

ALLIANCE for Brahmin girl 35 / 162 / 1700 M.A. B.Ed. govt teacher. Contact Diwakar 17/142 Purani Mandi Subhash Gali Ajmer. (34513)

ALLIANCE for fair Tamil Iyengar girl 34 / 163 / 2500 central govt employee Delhi. Innocent divorcee. No encumbrances. Write Box 46504, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (AD4582)DBJ

ALLIANCE for graduate Tengalai Iyengar girl 22 / 164, Koushika Hasta, subsect no bar. Write Box H 201—S, Times of India, Bombay-400001. (AHD039)

ALLIANCE for graduate Rajput girl 21 / 161 slim smart pretty from officers engineers executives. Caste no bar. Write Box 46420, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (M4467)

ALLIANCE for smart slim Agrawal Garg girl M.Sc. Electronics 23 / 160 fair good looking. Father serving Bihar govt. Correspond H. L. Agrawal Superintending Engineer Bhaloo Ranchi-834008. (M4456)SC

ALLIANCE from Brahmin non-punjabi only of Indian Administrative Railways Allied Engineering; Foreign banks; Top Multinational; Air Lines; service for 23 / 157.5 fair girl. Simple, humane, responsible. Throughout Loreto Converted M.A. Father Chief Engineer. Excellent Family. Box 7, Niralanagar Post Office, Lucknow-226020. (C35667)DL

ALLIANCE invited from allbest Class II Officer or equivalent Kayastha boys for 23 / 150, M.A., slim, beautiful girl. Write Box 45582FR, Times of India, New Delhi-2.

ALLIANCE invited from I.A.S. / allied and civil services and defence services for pretty Punjabi Brahmin girl B.Sc., B.Ed. 25 / 160 from very respectable family. Write Box 5863, Times of India, Baroda-5. (PP34726)

WANTED GROOMS

ALLIANCE INVITED FROM PARENTS OF TALL HANDSOME WELL QUALIFIED / PLACED EXECUTIVES / PROFESSIONALS / OFFICERS / BUSINESSMAN FROM INDIA / ABROAD OF STATUS WELL ESTABLISHED JAT SIKH (CLEAN SHAVEN BOY) PUNJABI / SAHITI SINDHI FAMILY FOR SMART, GRACEFUL, FAIR, SLIM, HOMELY, CONVENT EDUCATED, FIRST CLASS XAVIERITE GRADUATE 21 / 175 DOING POST GRADUATION IN CLINICAL PSYCOLOGY, ONLY DAUGHTER OF HIGH STATUS CULTURED MODEST WELL ESTABLISHED JAT SIKH FAMILY. ADVERTISEMENT FOR BETTER CHOICE. WRITE BOX 10233-G, TIMES OF INDIA, AHMEDABAD-380009. (3463-X)

ALLIANCE invited for U.S. citizen, convent educated, Sikh girl 31 / 165, divorcee with a four year old son. Only broad minded professionals below 35 need. Write Box 46384, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C4568)SC

ALLIANCE invited for Keralite Jacobite Christian girl 29 / 1300 plus / 162 Accounts Assistant reputed concern. Write Box 46398, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C35475)

ALLIANCE invited for Vaishnav Gujarati beautiful, educated girl. slim fair, charming, smart girl, 27 / 160 coming from highly cultured well-established industrialist family. Wanted educated, well-settled, professional / businessman, industrialist. Caste no bar. Write Box H 173—K, , Times of India, Bombay-400001 (BYDR117815)

ALLIANCE invited for Doctor specialist twenty eight plus tall very fair North based with high emoluments from good looking South Indian Brahmin bachelors well educated well placed in India / abroad. Reply Box 46390, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C4561)SC

ALLIANCE invited for a beautiful, smart, homely convent educated Bengali Baidya girl (22 / 153 cm) appeared in M.Sc., only daughter of retired Chief Engineer residing at Delhi. Write Box H 054 S, , Times of India, Bombay-400001. (AC1776)

ALLIANCE invited from tall handsome well established businessman industrialist professional young man around thirty years for smart fair attractive well educated professionally qualified Punjabi Khatri girl 25 / 142 belonging to well connected highly respected family. Write Box G 939—S, Times of India, Bombay-400001. (BYDR116230)

ALLIANCE invited for a 38 yrs., slim wheatish Maharashtrian nursing officer in army. Only class I officers below 44 need apply. Caste no bar. Early simple marriage. Write Box H 307—S, Times of India, Bombay-400001. (AP1447)

ALLIANCE invited for Bengali Kayastha girls 32 / 157, M.A. and 23 / 155 doing B.A., both fair, beautiful and perfect in house hold affairs. Early decent marriage. Write Box 46446, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (M4466)SC

WANTED GROOMS

ALLIANCE invited from well qualified well settled Hindu Punjabi boys for smart beautiful convent educated graduate 22 / 157 cms girl well settled business family. Write Box H 084—K, Times of India, Bombay-400001. (BYDR117068)

ALLIANCE invited for post-graduate Brahmin girl 24 / 164 slim fair beautiful father engineer brother programmer Australia own accomodation Bombay early marriage. Write Box H 022—K, Times of India, Bombay-400001. (BYDR116750)

ALLIANCE invited from professionally qualified, well placed Smartha Brahmin for Kannada speaking Mulakanadu girl engineering graduate 25 / 159 Cm. fair, slim, daughter of top executive, subsect no bar. Apply to Box 46426, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (A4529)

ALLIANCE invited for young Protestant Christian convent educated lady of thirty two years. Bachelors of same caste, well educated and settled with own house and capable of supporting a family independently may reply Box H 163—S, Times of India, Bombay-400001. (BYDR117578)

ALLIANCE invited for a Sanadhya Brahmin girl age 29, graduate fair, height 157 cms. stationed at Jaipur frm a respectable family. Write to Box No. 46436, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (M4520)

ALLIANCE invited for Gaur Rajput girl 23 / 150 post graduate fair slim beautiful. Father and brother army officers boys merit and family main consideration. Write to Box No. L-4107, The Times of India, Lucknow-226 001. (NTLG17962)

ALLIANCE invited from highly-qualified, well-settled bachelor, 34-38, for Delhite highly-qualified Brahmin, smart, slim girl 32 / 166 cms. earning Rs. 3,000/-. Artistic temperament. Cultured, respectable, Govt.-Servant family. Write Box 46428, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C4560)SC

ALLIANCE solicited for homely fair Gaur girl M.A., B.Ed. 166 / 28 well-up in household tasks. No dowry. Write Box 46836, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C4562)SC

ALLIANCE solicited for fair and beautiful Kanyakubja Brahmin girl 24 / 158 belonging to highly educated family. Ph.D student in USA. Boys studying / employed in USA. Boys studying / employed in USA eligible. Write with full particulars. Write to Box No. L 4847, Times of India, Lucknow-1 (GVTLG19887)

ALLIEDS / reputed multinational employed match for Kayasth attractive converted RBI officer girl 24 / 160 / 3700 respectable family, no dowry, decent early marriage. Write Box 46486, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C35668)DL

AN alliance for 25 / 152 Gujarati Vaishnav from Zimbabwe very fair beautiful convent educated fluent English independent looking for smart educated well settled good looking Hindu boy easy to get along 28 upto 33 years caste no bar here for short time advert for wider choice. Phone Mahesh 8080787 or Write Box H 020—K, Times of India, Bombay-400001. (BYDR116748)

AN ESTABLISHED OSWAL JAIN BUSINESSMAN / PROFESSIONAL / CIVIL SERVANT FOR ATTRACTIVE INTELLIGENT 29 / 156 M.SC. (PHYSICS). DAUGHTER OF LEADING SENIOR ADVOCATE AND MEMBER OF LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY (FORMER FINANCE AND PLANNING MINISTER). EARLY DECENT MARRIAGE. WRITE BOX 46521, TIMES OF INDIA, NEW DELHI-2. (C35727)DBg

ARMY / Civil / otherwise status match desired for M.A., Ph.D. Punjabi Brahmin girl thirty beautiful smart decently employed. Write Box 45680FR, Times of India, New Delhi-2.

WANTED GROOMS

BEAUTIFUL, homely fair Punjabi Saraswat Brahmin 24 / 155 B.A. final result expected soon, seeks suitable groom. Father, brother Central Govt employees. Write Box 46443, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C35571)

BENGALI Brahmin girl 22 / 155 fair slim very beautiful. Convent educated. Studying M.Com, father executive engineer expect matching Brahmin / Kayastha groom. Write Box U 125—K, Times of India, Bombay-400001. (BYDP118836)

BENGALI correspondence invited from engineer / Doctor / CA for charming, smart, good looking homely, convent educated, M.A. 29 / 163 cm girl of respectable Bose family. Early marriage. Write Box 46408, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (M4528)

BENGALI Kayastha parents invite proposal for their only daughter M.Phil 26 / 152 cms. Good looking presently doing Ph.D. in Philosophy. Write Box G 677—S, Times of India, Bombay-400001. (BYDR114848)

BENGALI settled Dehradun seeking Hindu groom 28 / 31 years fit active tall nature and outdoor loving handsome joyful self-worthy learned substantially employed and respecting own heritage for wonderful daughter 25 / 163 M.A., B.Ed. accomplished softspoken gentle caring pretty houseproud homebuilder sociable spirited and dedicated creative teacher. Write Box 46353, Times of India, New Delhi-2 (C35458)DL

BENGALI suitable groom for Namasudra Lecturer girl 30 / 160 fair smart good looking caste no bar. No dowry. Decent marriage. Write Box 46374, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C4579)SC

BOMBAYITE Punjabi Khatri Business family wants suitable match for their Daughter 27 / 165 Convent, Graduate, slim, beautiful, homely. Please reply Box No. G 908—K, Times of India, Bombay-400001 (BYDR116152)

BRAHMIN match for Ghaziabad based Kanyakubja girl converted, B.A. (Hons.), M.A. (English), B.Ed., 25 / 160 slim pretty. Write Box 46391, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C35556)DL

BRIDEGROOM for Trilokchandi Vais Rajput fair-complexioned girl M.A. 26 / 150 cms., engineers / doctors / govt. employees of same caste may Write Box 46362, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C35457)DLP

CHRISTIAN protestant B.Ed. homely girl 30 / 166 / 54 alliance invited only from well settled respectable Christian family. Write Box 46403, Times of India, New Delhi-2 (C35560)DL

CORRESPONDENCE from non-smoking engineers and others professionals for a Goan Catholic 24 years girl green card holder of USA. No bars. Groom must be willing to settle in USA. Write with photo 215 Louisa Ave Apt. 5 Nashville TN 37208 USA (C4567)SC

CORRESPONDENCE invited from parents of Gujarati boys 25-28 India Foreign based highly qualified / own business for convent educated good-looking girls graduate para medical other teacher training diploma. Write Box G 951—K, Times of India, Bombay-400001. (BYDR118411)

WELL settled match for graduate beautiful slim 25 / 160 Punjabi girl family, business in Hyderabad. Decent marriage. Write Box 46326, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C35364)

WELL settled match for fair homely M.A. (Anth) 23 yrs. 160 cms. tall Kayastha girl belonging to respectable family. Write to Box No. L-4023, The Times of India, Lucknow-226 001. (NTLG-18810)

WELL settled match for beautiful slim homely Aggarwal girl graduate innocent divorcee 28 / 158 / 147 early marriage. Write Box 46466, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C4584)SC

WELL settled professionals for Bengali Brahmin girl 22 / 160 beautiful convent educated Defence Service Officers preferred. Write Box H 213—S, Times of India, Bombay-400001. (AP1448)

MATRIMONIALS MATRIMONIALS MATRIMONIALS MATRIMONIALS

WANTED GROOMS ♥

CORRESPONDENCE INVITED
FROM ELIGIBLE CHRISTIAN BOYS
AGE BETWEEN 24-28
PREFERABLY DOCTORS
ENGINEERS, IAS.
FOR DELHI UNIVERSITY
COMMERCE (HON.) GRADUATE
FAIR TALL AND PRESENTLY
DOING PROFESSIONAL
COURSE BELONGING WELL
KNOWN CHRISTIAN FAMILY.
FATHER SENIOR EXECUTIVE
NATIONAL VOLUNTARY
ORGANISATION.
MOTHER IS DOCTOR,
GIRL BEAUTIFUL
AND WELL VERSED
HOUSEHOLD WORK.
WRITE BOX 46460, TIMES OF INDIA,
NEW DELHI-2. (C4592)SC

DELHI based bachelor matches for fair, smart Punjabi Khatri sisters 28 / 160 / 3700 M.A., LL.B. Officer; 27 / 168 / 1650 B.A., B.Ed. Public School Teacher small family brothers class I officers, father businessman. Write Box 46346, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C36409)

DELHI based match for non working graduate Journalist Brahmin girl 24 / 154 Brahmin Journalism preferred. Write Box 46474, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (M504)

DESIRED handsome well settled match for Bhatnagar girl 23 / 161 cm. B.A., B.Ed. attractive fair complexion teacher. Early marriage. Write in details to Box 46527, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (M120)

EDUCATED well settled match for homely Saraswat Brahmin girl 20 B.A. (final) 150 cms. reputed business family. Write Box 45830FR, Times of India, New Delhi-2.

ELIGIBLE well placed match for Bengali Kayastha girl 26 years 150 cm. B.Sc. Home Science B.Ed. fair charming homely accommodating efficient in household affairs. Early marriage. Write Dilip Sarkar C-46, Pratap Nagar, Chittorgarh-312001. (C36433)

✓**ALLIANCE** for beautiful charming 168 / 28 Punjabi Brahmin class A officer central govt. service New Delhi (Station of posting adjustable). Well placed officer / executive with good family background preferred. Early marriage. Dowry seekers unwelcome. Write Box 46404, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C36089)

FOR fair beautiful 164 / 22 MBA [illegible] Manager high family status from high placed executives / professionals. Write Box 10248-G, Times of India, Ahmedabad-380009. (34800)

FOR minutely handicapped wanted well settled match around 28 / 30 for beautiful Punjabi Khatri girl completed B.Sc. belonging to respectable family, having slight defect in right foot. Caste no bar. Write Box 45742FR, Times of India, New Delhi-2.

FOR M.Sc. L.T. U.G.C. junior research fellow wheatish slim Kshatriya girl 157 / 29 caste no bar. Write to Box No. L-4522, Times of India, Lucknow-226 001. (NTLG18800)

FOR Punjabi Rajput girl graduate Engineer in Electronics Govt. Service 147 / 24 / 2700. Caste no bar. Write Box 46367, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C36464)

GARHWALI Brahmin 27 / 130 cms. very fair good looking working girl basic Rs. 1450/- wanted suitable Delhite match. Write Box 46507, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C35711)

GROOM 33-38 years West Bengal Kayastha Bank Officer / C.A. / Executive / Engineer for tall fair, M.A. employed can leave job daughter of reputed Doctor of South Delhi. Write Box 46380, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C36502)DL

WANTED GROOMS ♥

GROOM for chemical engineering graduate intelligent convented Agarwal girl wheatish slim sharp featured good looking 22 / 150 / 40 Slight sitting defect while walking. No bars. Correspond Satish Gupta Nani Chhipwad, Vadodara 390003. (946-XG)

GURSIKH girl legally divorced 24 year 156 cm. good looking petite graduate professionally qualified in computer programming daughter of Delhi's well known industrialist, seeks correspondence from well settled professionally qualified or businessman of similar status. Write Box 45713FR, Times of India, New Delhi-2.

HANDSOME tall Public / convent educated doctor / professional for beautiful fair slim smart 166 / 25 lady medico captain short service educated Punjabi family. Write Box 46422, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (M4471)SC

HIGHLY educated well settled match for convented U.P. Khatri girl 30 / 160 / M.A. Ph.D. / 3200 Research Associates. Father Senior Class I Officer. Caste no bar. Write Box 46395, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C35529)DALP

IAS / IPS / allied / multinational employed match for genuinely fair beautiful Kayastha convented girl honours Delhi University 21 / 152 reputed family. Write Box 46489, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C35670)DL

✓**WANTED** Jain / Agarwal Doctor M.S. / M.D. Clinical pass / studying for 23 / 155 merit doctor girl, intern, fair with attractive features. Will do M.D. (O & G). Father Clinical Professor. Brothers Doctor. Decent early marriage. Write Box 46491, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (M531)SC

JAIN Oswal professionally qualified match preferably studying working in USA for attractive convent educated 21 / 157 chemical engineer girl reputed Rajasthan family. Write Box 46435, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (M4517)SC

JAISWAL fair beautiful slim 23 / 160 fluent English B.Com completing System Analyst course, belonging to highly educated / well placed family. Looking for handsome / well qualified / settled match. Write Box U 364—S, Times of India, Bombay-400001. (BYDP117560)

KANYAKUBJ Brahmin 25 years M.A. beautiful, expert in household affair girl seeks suitable match. Write Box 46457, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C36631)

KAYASTHA attractive Wheatish slim 29 / 148 convent educated B.Sc. M.A. diploma journalism decent family no bars. Write Box 46434, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (M4514)SC

KAYASTHA match for 28 / 165 cm. B.A. fair complexioned girl beautician course from respectable kayastha family. Write Box 46416, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (M4468)

KAYASTHA medico match willing settling USA for pretty 23 / 158 girl, medicine (M.D.), doing Ph.D. having USA green card, parents well settled USA. Bio-data, family details first instance. Write Box 46441, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (M24589)SC

KERALITE Nair fair complexion girl 24 / 155 / 2000/- B.Sc. Nurse Rajasthan Govt. Service. Father brother Doctor. Well placed boy serving in North India. Below 30 preferred. Write Box 45709FR, Times of India, New Delhi-2.

KUMAONI Garhwali Rajput doctor post graduate or doing post graduation for Kumaoni Rajput MBBS girl 24 / 160 very fair charming slim doing internship daughter of leading doctor of Kumaon from very respectable family. Write details first instant to Box 46340, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C36360)DL

KUTCHI bachelor for unmarried graduate 40 years. Write to Box No. G 822—K, Times of India, Bombay-400001. (BYDR115869)

WANTED GROOMS ♥

LIFE partner preferably IPS IAS IFA / computer engineer for really gori slim beautiful Kayastha girl 23 / 165 cms class I officer U.P. govt. caste no bar. Write Box No. L-4118, The Times of India, Lucknow-226 001. (NTLG17982)

MAHAJAN medical doctor for fair pretty slim convent educated NCERT scholar 25 / 163 MA doing MS Computer in USA holding green-card. Write 62 Shastrinagar Ajmer-305001. (M510)SC

MANGLIK match for homely Punjabi Khatri (Malhotra) girl 27 / 152 B.Com. Write Box 46410, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C36585)

MARWARI Agarwal reputed Garg Industrialist family beautiful girl 22 / 157 graduates fair very decent marriage Agarwal status family. Please reply Box 981—S, The Times of India, Bangalore-560001. (25841)

MATCH Class-I only Railways or direct Inspectors in any department of only Railways for good looking M.Sc. Khatri girl 27 / 165, father HOD Railways, caste no bar. Write Box 45841FR, Times of India, New Delhi-2.

MATCH fair graceful 23 years old well-settled professional Bengali girl, 158 cms., working in a company of international repute, earning 2,500/-. Cast / province no bar. Please send full details to Box: 46433, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (A4613)

MATCH for 19 / 158 fair slim and educated Rajput girl extremely beautiful accomplished and sophisticated hailing from highly reputed and affluent family of Bihar required handsome boy below twentyeight holding post in bank or prestigeous department of public sector or private with decent family background. Write Box 4854, Times of India, Pana-1. (PT4211)

MATCH for beautiful fair tall 26 yrs. student Ph.D. Immunology Brahmin girl, doctor lecturer class-I officer executive required. Apply Box 46348, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C36412)

MATCH for Bengali Kayastha Guha (23) 160 / 25 girl. Brother guardian Army Officer. Write Box 46379, Times of India, New Delhi-2 (C35514)DL

MATCH for convent educated M.Phil. Bengali girl 28 / 160 she is fair complexioned attractive and adopt in all household chores. Please reply Box 46522, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (M4565)DL

MATCH for honours graduate (Delhi) girl, 23 / 157, smart, beautiful and accomplished from highly placed and well connected family of services, Saxena Kayasth, settled around Delhi. Father retired recently from U.P. Civil Services. Early decent marriage. No bars. Correspond Box 46472, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (M4302)DL

MATCH for Jain girl (Manglik) 26/168 M.Phil (Stat.) beautiful fair slim. Write Box 46362, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C36526)

MATCH for Kayasth Srivastava girl 28 / 158 graduate medium complexion beautiful homely. Father govt. pensioner, Uncles class one officers in ONGC. Caste no bar, no dowry. Early and simple marriage. Write Box 46486, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (A24778)

MATCH for Rajput girl 31 / 157 M.Sc. Ph.D. fair, smart and beautiful, mutually divorced, issueless, working Asstt. Professor Govt. College, Rajput serving in M.P. preferred. Write Box 45712FR, Times of India, New Delhi-2.

MATCH for Sunni Muslim girl 22, fair beautiful, slim, B.Sc. M.A. (English) belongs to respected Saiyed family. Caste no bar. Write Box 46508, Times of India, New Delhi-2 (C4600)SC

MATCH for two Gaur Brahmin girls visiting India Canadian Immigrant age 25 & 22 preference Engineer willing to migrate to Canada. Write Box 46365, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C4571)SC

WANTED GROOMS ♥

MATCH independent business / prospective post preferably officer for beautiful Punjabi Khatri girl M.Sc., B.Ed. 27½ / 160 / 1950 Central Govt. only daughter. Write Box 45681FR, Times of India, New Delhi-2.

MATRIMONIAL correspondence is invited for beautiful Mahajan girl 24 USA citizen American university business administration graduate. Boy should be MBBS from a good Delhi area family who desires to go USA. Correspond with girls father with photograph and particulars at his Indian residence Dr. Raj Gupta 1013/7C Faridabad Haryana. (C36672)

MUSLIM Sunni Syed groom for two sisters B.Sc. Nurse 30 / 155 and M.A., LL.B. final 28 / 157. Only Sunni Syed. Write Box 45589FR, Times of India, New Delhi-2

PALGHAT Nair parents Madras settled seek alliance from suitable employed / business boys for daughter 27 / 158 fair beautiful B.Sc. Moolam slight Chovva Dasham. Write Box H 118—S, Times of India, Bombay-400001. (AM1084)

PARENTS invite correspond from professionals in USA / Canada / India for Mathur, electrical engineer, daughter 24 / 158 settled Canada. Write to Box No. L-4513, The Times of India, Lucknow-226001. (NTLG18774)

PARENTS seek Tamil Iyer professional match under 30 Non-Atreya India / U.S.A. based for attractive smart daughter 24 / 150 Electrical Engineer career oriented interested higher studies. Horoscope family details to Box H 046—S, Times of India, Bombay-400001. (AM1091)

PARENTS settled in USA invite correspondence from handsome MBBS Hindu medical doctors only, must speak good English ready to settle in USA under 30 for their US born citizen daughter 25 very fair & beautiful practicing attorney with excellent educational background settled in Washington area. Write with full details to Box 46328, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (M174)SC

PROFESSIONAL parents residing U.S.A. invite matrimonial alliance for their beautiful daughter engineer high salary slim fair homeloving 23 / 165 from only Kshatriya Rajput Engineer Doctor. Send particulars. Write Box 46347, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C4563)SC

PROPOSAL from Arcot Mudaliar boys (U.S.A.) for professional bride (U.S.A.) 30 / 160. Write Chockalingam, 1298, Kambar Colony, West Annanagar, Madras 40. (AM1095)

PROPOSALS invited from cultured parents of tall good looking well qualified young man below 34, in U.S.A. for fair, slim, 165 cms. good looking Hindu girl, 28, from very respectable family of Madras. Completing PHD in USA. Write Box H 056—S, Times of India, Bombay-400001. (AM1087)

QUALIFIED groom between 28 — 30 years of age for Bengali Baidya Brahmin M.Com. girl Write Box H 024—S, Times of India, Bombay-400001. (BYDR116794)

RAJASTHAN based decent Brahmin P.G. (DR) match for 26 / 153 / 42 nice Maithil Gaur Brahmin medico girl House-job Surgery. Write with horoscope. Box 46488, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (M507)

RAJPUT Manglik officers engineers etc. match for post graduate beautiful fair coloured convent educated girl invited. Box 46503, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (AD456)DLP

SERVICE officers doctors engineers for Sindhi girls 27 / 158 and 25 / 155 both postgraduate family M.A. based. Write Box 46382, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C4584)SC

SINDHI Amil attractive young looking graduate literature French diploma holder girl 34 / 155 seeks match from Amil qualified boys. Write Box 46363, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C4583)SC

See Page 4

WANTED BRIDES ♡

BEAUTIFUL smart girl for Berwa post-graduate Electrical Class-I Railway Officer 27 / 165 / 3500. Write Box 5895, Times of India, Baroda-5. (3402X)

BEAUTIFUL well-educated homely Bisa Agarwal match for chartered accountant 26 / 170 cm belongs to well-established business family of Lucknow. Girl main consideration send full details first instance. Write Box No. L 4532, Times of India, Lucknow-1 (NTLB18925)

BENGALI Hindu Post graduate / professional fair upto 24 Bride for handsome 27 / 171 / 4000 / Engineer in Public Sector Delhi. Write Box 48367, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (T4411)

BENGALI PG / Professional girl from cultured family for Kshatriya P.G. Computer Engineer in reputed public sector in Delhi 31 / 163 / 5500. Owns car. Caste no bar. Early marriage. Write Box 48371, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C35487)DL

BOMBAY BASED INDUSTRIAL PARENTS VERY HIGHLY EDUCATED AND COMING FROM WELL-KNOWN RESPECTABLE CULTURED HINDU FAMILIES LOVINGLY INVITE MATRIMONIAL ALLIANCE FOR THEIR EXTREMELY HANDSOME ONLY SON AGE 24 YEARS HAVING FILM STAR PERSONALITY 182 CMS. TALL VERY FAIR HIGHLY EDUCATED RELIGIOUS TEETOTALLER VEGETARIAN AND VERY WELL SETTLED OWNING BUSINESS AND PROPERTIES FROM PARENTS OF AN EXCEPTIONALLY BEAUTIFUL CHARMING GRACEFUL MOST ATTRACTIVE LOOKING ELEGANT SLIM FAIR TALL EDUCATED HOMELY ACCOMPLISHED AND CULTURED GIRL COMING FROM A GOOD RESPECTABLE FAMILY BACKGROUND. ADVERTISEMENT IS FOR WIDER CHOICE AND BEST SELECTION. GIRL ONLY CONSIDERATION.

PLEASE SEND IN FULL CONFIDENCE COMPLETE DETAILS. ALL PROPOSALS AND CORRESPONDENCE WILL BE TREATED AS COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL. PLEASE WRITE TO BOX H 384—K, TIMES OF INDIA, BOMBAY-400001. (A24785)

BRIDES for handsome highly qualified well established entrepreneur decent income, widower without encumberence 33. Medico brother doing M.D. 27 / 3900 affluent Khatri family. Write Box 46357, Times of India, New Delhi-2 (C35451)

CLASS I civil contractor Kshatri Rajput invites correspondence from parents of beautiful charming girls for son 23 / 182 B.E. Civil having huge property. Caste no bar. Write Box H 204 S, Times of India, Bombay-400001. (AHD044)

CONVENTED tall, homely match from status family, for Vaish boy, marine-engineer, merchant-Navy, 27 / 172 / 9000. Father engineer, brother / sister doctors. Early marriage. No bars. Write Box 48448, Times of India, New Delhi-2 (M4499)

CONVENT educated girl from respectable family for Sood boy 24 / 185 Degree information Technology Pound 13000/ permanent settled U.K. Caste no bar. Write Box U 120—S, , Times of India Bombay-400001. (BYDP116599)

EDUCATED bride for Rajasthan based Bengali 39 / 170 Doctorate in Biochemistry. Caste no bar. Reply in detail to Box 48121, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C34993)

WANTED BRIDES ♡

CORRESPONDENCE invited from U.S. citizen green card holder girls and financially secure girls for Hindu Khatri boy age 24 / 178 / B.A. Caste no bar. Widow / divorcee with child welcome. Write Box 45770FR, Times of India, New Delhi-2.

CORRESPONDENCE invited from professional/ student girls for handsome U.S. settled engineer 22 / 182 cms full particulars with returnable photo call (912) 537-8503 or Contact Gurpal Gill 817 Centre Place Vidalia GA. 30474 U.S.A. (M512)

DECENT and matching proposals are invited for son, 24½ years, ISC B Tech Mech, merit scholar, slim, tall 167 cms, very fair, handsome, attractive features, sober affectionate clean habits property owners and undertaking with father large scale civil mechanical contracts at various power projects also planing to set up steel industry well reputed Western U.P. Bisa Agarwal Goel family. Kindly send full details to Surendra Agarwal Managing Partner Khatauli Engineering Works Post Box 21, Khatauli 251201 phones 68 & 70 Grams kenworks. (C35589)

DEFENCE wanted beautiful fair educated girl for handsome Chaurasia bachelor 25 / 170 Captain girl main consideration preference to medico, caste no bar. Write to Box No. L-4518, The Times of India, Lucknow-1. (NTLB-18901)

DIGAMBER Jain 27 years Goyal Gotra higher secondary, own business Delhi based legally divorced boy seeks beautiful educated homely bride from Hindu family. No dowry, divorcee also acceptable. Write Box 46509, Times of India, New Delhi-2 (C35708)

EDUCATED beautiful match for Jatav businessman 28 / 175 / 6000 under-graduate owns house in Delhi and permanent business. Write Box 10412, Nav Bharat Times, New Delhi-2. (C34941)

EDUCATED Intelligent Iyengar / Iyer girl for Tamil Koundinya Iyengar MBA 26 / 175 / 5500 simple decent marriage. Write Box 46518, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C4802)SC

EMPLOYED / unemployed match for Aggarwal boy Govt. service, 170 / 30 / 2500. Write full particular. First instance. Early marriage. Write Box 46451, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C35621)

EXTREMELY beautiful / gorgeous below 24 pure vegetarian (preferably doctor) reputed family for American educated (Ph.D. medicine USA) 27 / 175 fair handsome Vaishnava boy Manager with internationally reputed company at Delhi. Write Box 46370, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C4572)SC

EXTREMELY beautiful bride for Khatri bank officer M.A. 33 / 182 / 4000. Write Box 46388, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C35547)

✓ **SLIM** fair beautiful girl for Delhite Punjabi Brahmin direct Bank Officer 28 / 165 doing MBA only son of Retd. Prin. Secy. Caste no bar. Write P.O. Box 6004, New Delhi-8 (C35691)

FAIR good looking graduate convent educated below 23 years girl for Bengali Brahmin Computer Engineer 175 / 27 boy employed Foreign Bank Dubai. Write Box 46361, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C4586)SC

FOR Ambashtha Kayastha 39 / 172 bachelor middle level Central Govt. officer, beautiful non-working match required. Communicate with girl's horoscope, full size and close-up photograph, date, time and place of birth and complete bio-data with Sri B.K.P. Sinha, IAS (Retd.), 22/A, Magistrates' Colony, Khajpur, Patna-800014. (3460XG)

FOR handsome Bhatnagar boy 24 / 182 trained in Switzerland in Hotel Management Serving in Rajasthan's super deluxe hotel wanted tall pretty convent educated Kayastha girl of status family. Write Box 46467, Times of India, New Delhi-2 (M505)

WANTED BRIDES ♡

FOR handsome Khatri officer Executive 33 / 165 propertied settled reputed film — very beautiful qualified dignified high status match. Write Box H 155—S, , Times of India, Bombay-400001. (BYDR117523)

✓ **ALLIANCE** for Punjabi Brahmin Kashyap law graduate 29 / 180 / 6000 fair slim only son settled in family business at Faridabad. Write Box 46476, Times of India, New Delhi-2 (C35664)DL

GARHWALI Kumaoni or Gorkhali beautiful educated homely girl from respectable family for Army Capt. 30 / 166 permanent commission. Write Box 46416, Times of India. New Delhi-2. (M4465)

GOWDA Saraswat Brahmin B.E. / 32 / 168 / 5000 seeks alliance from Gowda Saraswat Brahmin South Kanara Konkani speaking graduate girls. Write Box G 904—K, Times of India, Bombay-400001.((((((((((((((((BYDR116117)

HANDSOME 25 years 187 doctor son of a Punjabi Hindu industrialist settled in South India needs a U.S. citizen / green card holder educated beautiful girl. Caste no bar. Parents may contact Box 963—S, Times of India, Bangalore-560001. (25358)

HANDSOME boy from decent Garhwali Brahmin family, B.Sc., 26½ / 170 / 2000/- + perks, working in reputed Ltd. Firm Employed girl (teacher preferred). Write Box 45738FR, Times of India, New Delhi-2.

HANDSOME brilliant foreign qualified Delhi University Senior Lecturer Sunni Muslim bachelor 52 / 175 seeks matrimonial alliance full particulars. Write Box 45585FR, Times of India, New Delhi-2.

HANDSOME Iyer boy 34 Bharadwajam employed in a reputed organisation calls details from parents of employed Keralite girl. Write Box 45707FR, Times of India, New Delhi-2.

HOMELY pretty educated girl from status family for Punjabi Brahmin boy 25 / 180 vegetarian public school and M.S. construction management U.S.A. belonging to affluent status family established business. Write Box H 205—S, Times of India, Bombay-400001. (AHD043)

HOROSCOPES invited from Vadama Iyer employed graduate girl for Bharadwajam Aswani post graduate bank employed boy 170 / 33. Write Box 45757FR, Times of India, New Delhi-2

INDEPENDENT Sikh youth 60 drawing 3000/- invites matrimonial correspondence from ladies only. No bars. Write Box 46499, Times of India, New Delhi-2 (C35682)

✓ **ALLIANCE** invited from convent-educated, fair, tall, slim, beautiful, homely graduate Hindu bride preferably North-Indian or Punjabi age 19 / 24 years from highly respectable well-to-do cultured family for well established industrialist, graduate tall, fair, handsome Kshatriya age 27 years. Owns land, flat, car etc. Legal divorcee. No liability. Earning over Rs. 7,000/- p.m. Caste no bar. Girl's merit main consideration. Advertisement better choice. Write Box 46413, Times of India, New Delhi-2 (M4451)SC

JATAV boy 30 / 170 / 2300 Science T.G.T. Delhi Administration School seeks beautiful employed girl preference teachers. Write complete details Box 46377, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C35518)

KAYASTHA, beautiful, qualified girl for Saxena 24 / 165 / 2300, smart, Scientific Assistant, in Bhabha Atomic Research Centre, Bombay. Write Box T 798—K, Times of India, Bombay-400001 (BYDP116795)

KAYASTHA match for Saxena bank employee boy 28 / 180 cms. / 2600 girl and family only consideration. Write to Box L-4308, Times of India, Lucknow-1. (NTLB-18424)

WANTED BRIDES ♡

KERALITE Nair boy graduate 28 / 175 / 1700 Central Govt. employee in Delhi from Palghat seeks suitable employed partner. Apply with details to Box 46378, Times of India, New Delhi-2 (C35513)

LONDON resident handsome Christian male, age 26, Engineer, sincere, own house / car seeks Christian girl aged under 20 years, pretty light / fair complexion, simple, sincere, chaste, pure in character, good moral character for marriage. Please reply with recent colour photo to Mr. John David, 124 Jerome Tower, Osborne Road, Acton, London W3, United Kingdom. (C-9)

MADRAS Hindu Telugu vegetarian post-graduate broadminded bachelor 40 / 155 requires American immigrant bride caste colour community language province Jains Sikhs widows divorcees no bar. Respond immediately with bio-data for a happy and worryless life to Box H 038—S, Times of India, Bombay-400001 (BYPT116876)

MAHARASHTRIAN engineer handsome 28 / 174 Factory bungalow car well established Nasik based seeks slim charming graduate girl from well-placed families. Write Box U 222—S, Times of India, Bombay-400001. (BYDR116881)

MANGLIK graduate homely girl for 25 / 172 businessman Arora boy Middle Class family. Write Box 46458, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C35636)

MARINE engineer, Bengalee Kayastha (Calcutta), 36 / 176 / 30,000 wants educated / professional bride. Any caste province. Write Box No. 46425, Times of India, New Delhi-2 (M4529)

MATCH for 26 / 167 Kumaoni Vieshy own family business decent income with particulars horoscope. Caste no bar. Write to Box No L-4329, Times of India, Lucknow-1 (NTLB-18470)

MATCH FOR A PUNJABI KHATRI, AGE 46 YEARS, HEIGHT 175 CMS., ME (W. GERMANY) AND MBA (USA) SETTLED IN WEST GERMANY FOR 25 YEARS, DOING EXTREMELY WELL IN OWN BUSINESS. HE WAS MARRIED TO A GERMAN LADY FOR 13 YEARS WHO EXPIRED LAST YEAR. NO ISSUES. LOOKING FOR A WELL EDUCATED, SOPHISTICATED LIFE PARTNER AGED AROUND 32 / 37 YEARS, SPINSTER / WIDOW OR DIVORCEE, HEIGHT 160 CMS., CHARMING, SLIM, FAIR COMPLEXIONED, ELEGANT AND HAVING PLEASANT PERSONALITY (WILLING TO SETTLE IN WEST GERMANY). FROM A RESPECTABLE HINDU FAMILY.

**PLEASE CONTACT
IMMEDIATELY CARE**

P.N. SEHGAL,

**B-7, GREEN PARK EXTENSION,
NEW DELHI-110016.
TELEPHONE: 661691 / 668588.**
(C35544)

See Page 4

WANTED BRIDES ♡

175 / 27 RAJPUT BOY, SMART, FAIR, HANDSOME, COMMERCE GRADUATE, WELL ESTABLISHED BUSINESSMAN FROM RESPECTABLE, HIGHLY EDUCATED ROYAL FAMILY INVITES ALLIANCE FROM FAIR, BEAUTIFUL, HOMELY, CULTURED, EDUCATED GIRL FROM HIGH CLASS RESPECTABLE AND ROYAL FAMILY. ADVERTISEMENT FOR SUITABLE CHOICE.

CONTACT BOX H 188—K, TIMES OF INDIA, BOMBAY-400001. (H188-K)

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180 / 31 Sindhi Amil boy from good family, IIT Computer Engineer foreign trained, Multinational Executive, Company Flat, Bombay based divorcee, invites offers from mature, well-educated girl. Advertising for wider choice for mutual benefit. Simple marriage. Contact confidentially Write Box G 986—S, Times of India, Bombay-400001. (BYDR116432)

24 years Gaur Brahmin own business income 4000, boy seeks beautiful homely bride. Contact Ramesh Chandra Bhrdwaj 1306 Hargulal Road, Ghantaghar Ambala Cantt. (C35411)

33 / 147 / 4000 Delhite Aggrawal own business, house, non-Matric issueless divorcee boy seeks divorcee / widow minor handicapped bride. Boy uses hearing aid. Caste no bar. Write Box 46381, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C35496)

47 yrs Jatav widower with 480 NS govt. servant Rs. 3300 P.M. having group housing flat require match employed widow with issues also considered. Caste no bar. Write Box 46477, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C35665)

AFFECTIONATE CS / Professional / Lecturer / equivalent / employable Ramdasia (Jatav / Chamar / Adarmi) match for Central Group A service boy 28 / 172. Girl only consideration. Write Box 45572FR, Times of India, New Delhi-2.

AGARWAL Marwari Garg renowned industrialist family invite proposal for their son 25 / 170 graduates fair handsome. Parents of beautiful girl respectable Agarwal family. Write Box 960—S, The Times of India, Bangalore-560001 (25640). (4502)

ALLIANCE for handsome 28 / 175 Punjabi Hindu highly qualified well settled in business from beautiful smart girl from respectable family. Write Box H 081—K, Times of India, Bombay-400001. (BYDR117081)

ALLIANCE for Kayasth 27 years young IAS officer 180 cms. tall, educated in best institutions and belonging to family of class I officers. Parents of brilliant, exceptionally beautiful and highly educated girls from senior IAS IPS or of equivalent status Kayasth families only may correspond. Full bio-data first instance. Advt inserted to have a broader choice. Early marriage. Write Box 46444, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (M24595)DP

ALLIANCE for North Brahmin boy, Vasistha gotra, 30 / 166 / 65 Higher Secondary, convent educated healthy good looking fair wheatish knowledgable own business income Rs. 7000/— (+) flat in Bombay, requires girl beautiful healthy educated homely, girl only consideration. Write Box H 134—K, Times of India, Bombay-400001. (BYDR117371)

WANTED BRIDES ♡

ALLIANCE for Punjabi boy B.E. (mech), dip I.F.T. 27 / 175, from cultured family, holding managerial position in reputed Delhi industrial house. Correspond to box H 067—S, Times of India, Bombay-400001. (AP1443)

ALLIANCE for Srivatsa Chitrai Tamil Ayyar 32 yrs 173 cms. Saudi Quality Control Engineer (LME) well-off family may start own business arriving short holiday from employed Ayyar girls Bank Public Sector reply with horoscope and details to Box G 876—K, Times of India, Bombay-400001. (BYST116485)

ALLIANCE for Sanadya Brahmin 26 / 170 / 3000 B.A. own business good looking boy respectable family. Write Box 46606, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C35710)

ALLIANCE from convent educated, fair good — looking brides for Army Captain Tamil Brahmin 28 / 176 / 4000 sub-sect / caste / language no bar horoscope optional. Write Box 958—K, Times of India, Bangalore-560001. (25366)

ALLIANCE invited from beautiful educated intelligent cultured girls of status family India / abroad for Sindhi boy 25 / 180 Post Graduate Engineering studying Ph.D. in America handsome cosmopolitan. No bars. Full details Box 46207, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (M35036)SC

ALLIANCE invited from well placed professionally qualified smart girls for Brahmin Engineer 27 / 163 / 3200 from Karnataka. Write Box 45685FR, Times of India, New Delhi-2.

ALLIANCE invited for Palghat Nair Government Stenographer 29 / 175 / 1950. From Govt. / Undertaking employed girls, preferably having accommodation at Delhi. Write Box 45651FR, Times of India, New Delhi-2.

ALLIANCE invited for Sikh Naval Officer, 25 / 172, Public School educated, from beautiful, broad minded educated girls. Father brother Defence Officers. No bars. Write Box 46363, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C35464)

ALLIANCE invited for Agarwal good looking boy 24½ / 180 B.E. / MBA (I.I.M.) working in Company from educated beautiful girl. Write Box 10255-B, Times of India, Ahmedabad-380009. (34800)

ALLIANCE invited from non-Vadula fair graduate Kerala Iyer girls for a Palghat Iyer boy, 28, Revathi, graduate executive, in Gulf since 8 years. Emoluments over Rs. 20,000/- p.m. flats in Bombay Advertisement for better selection only. Boy now in Bombay. Reply with horoscope. Write Box H 114—K, Times of India, Bombay-400001. (BYDR117257)

ALLIANCE invited from Maharashtrian protestant. Christian family for graduate girl, preferably convent educated, slim, below 30 years from educational, computer, medical, banking field, for our son, age 30 / 157, commerce graduate, government employed, good income, settled in Gulf. Write Box H 177—S, Times of India, Bombay-400001. (C-6)

ALLIANCE invited from Medico girls for a Surgeon 30 / 166, Hindi speaking Brahmin well-settled in Bombay post-graduate preferred. No bars. Early marriage. Write Box G 921—S, Times of India, Bombay-400001. (BYDR116206)

ALLIANCE invited directly from smart, educated, sociable women who have international outlook for professional divorcee 41, Master's degree in Engineering, living in America. Write in detail to Box G 786-S, Times of India, Bombay-400 001. (C-1)

ALLIANCE invited from decent Maharashtrian family, home loving, for professional photography age 29 / 173 having well established business in Bombay. Write with full biodata to Box G 889—K, Times of India, Bombay-400001. (BYDR115886)

ALLIANCE invited for wellplaced Engineer abroad, Punjabi widower, 42, No issue. Write Box G 945—S, . Times of India, Bombay-400001. (BYDR116309)

WANTED BRIDES ♡

ALLIANCE invited for Punjabi Khatri boy 35 / 167 / 3000 Civil Engineer having his own independent flat. Write Box U 143—S, Times of India, Bombay-400001. (BYDP117333)

ALLIANCE invited for smart, handsome Gupta Doctor, M.D. Pediatrics, 28 / 180 cms. in private practice, from tall beautiful Medico girls. Ph: 6821920. Write Box U 405—S, Times of India, Bombay-400001. (BYDP116874)

ALLIANCE invited for smart handsome boy 25 / 170 M Sc. (Math) in business income five figures from homely fair educated girl. Write to Box No. L-4558, Times of India, Lucknow-1. (NTLB18663)

ALLIANCE invited for very handsome Punjabi Khatri boy 26 / 165 / 30,000 Merchant Navy Officer Foreign Shipping presently in Bombay owns accommodation respectable family from educated beautiful slim homely Punjabi girl upto 24 / 160 of status family. Write Box U 300—K, Times of India, Bombay-400001. (BYDP116805)

ALLIANCE invited for Bengali Kayastha boy 30 / 175 / 2800, Central govt. employee. Beautiful homely girlfrom educated family. Write Box 46445, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (M4492)SC

ALLIANCE invited for Punjabi Khatri boy 28 / 175, good personality, highly placed with established company, from cultured family, well educated good looking girl. Write U 070—S, Times of India, Bombay-400001. (BYDP116110)

ALLIANCE invited for an Oriya Brahmin allied officer 26 / 157. Write with detail and horoscope to Box 46412, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (M4449)

ALLIANCE invited from beautiful girl for Rajput boy 25 / 172 B.E. (civil) M.E. assistant engineer U.P. govt. Write to Box No. L-4126, The Times of India, Lucknow-226 001. (NTLB-18036)

ALLIANCE invited from the parents of employed govt girls preference for teacher or bank employee for young Punjabi Khatri boy bank employee 28 / 162 salary 2400/- p.m. Write Box 46522, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C35740)

AMERICAN businessman, 51, PIT, healthy, vigorous, horseman, world traveller, seeks beautiful, intelligent, educated young Indian or Eurasian wife to share his life and travels. Inquiries should include photograph and letter in the lady's own hand, G. Monn, Box 12686, San Antonio, Texas 78213. (C-5)

AMERICAN gentleman unmarried and residing in a suburb of Washington, D.C., forty four of age, six feet tall, one hundred eighty lbs. Blond hair, invites correspondence from tall Indian women. Reply with photo to Post Office Box 277, Cabin John, Mary Land. 20818, U.S.A. (M4428)SC

AMERICAN green card holder highly connected handsome Arora boy 33 / 184 / 20000 persuing M.B.A. career arriving August seeks professionaly educated cultured homely bride. No bars Early marriage Write Box 48408, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (M508)

ANDHRA Niyogi Brahmin graduate match for an Air Force Pilot 26 / 165 / 5600, Father Senior Scientific Officer. Write Box 46367, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (M4434)SC

AN educated, highly religious minded married Sunni Muslim youngman (bearded), partially grey hair, age 32, height 169 cm., employed in Gulf, earning approximately Rs. 16,000/— per month invites matrimonial correspondence for second wife (independent status or abroad stay with husband possible) from beautiful, educated, unmarried Sunni Muslim young girls, divorcees or widows; willing to regularise five times prayers, abandon TV / Movies and to abide by Purdah system. Children acceptable. Only beautifuls need Write to Box H 182—S, Times of India, Bombay-400001. (C-6)

ATTRACTIVE graduate charming girl from respectable family height 163 cm for young Sikh army captain 25 yrs. Write Box 4852, Times of India, Patna. (PT4132)

WANTED BRIDES ♡

AUSTRALIAN gentleman (British) requires girl 20-25, tall, fair, attractive, likes sports and cookery. View marriage Australia. Send photo with details: Martin, P.O. Box 362, Wembley, 6014, W. Australia. (C-7)

BACHELOR industrialist (61) Saraswat Brahmin well educated non drinking vegetarian in Central India earning six figures need smashingly attractive ambitious educated talented homely girl around 30 years age from respectable family. Caste creed no bar. Please Reply Box No H 138—K, Times of India, Bombay-400001. (BYDR117405)

BALIJA Naidu post graduate engineer 28 / 170 working as class I officer in Central Govt. invites alliance from good looking, fair, well educated girls of respectable Naidu family (post-graduate preferred). Write Box 45681FR, Times of India, New Delhi-2.

BEAUTIFUL convent educated girl for Kayastha boy M.B.A. working as export executive with a public limited company 29 / 178 cm / 4000. Own property in Lucknow. Girl should be willing to settle abroad. Caste no bar. No dowry. Write to Box No. L-4521, Times of India, Lucknow-1. (NTLB18799)

BEAUTIFUL convent educated homely girl status family for Punjabi Merchant Navy Deck Officer 27 / 172 five figure salary. Father Retired Gazetted Officer. Write Box 46482, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (A24767)

BEAUTIFUL, educated, and sober bride for handsome Kanyakubja Brahmin boy, 26 / 172 / Rs. 5000 working for a multinational pharmaceutical company owns house in Patna. Girl's merits only consideration. Write Box 4622, Times of India, Patna-1. (PT4106)

BEAUTIFUL educated girl having good family background for a handsome Punjabi Khatri boy 31 having independent established business and belonging to a highly respectable Punjabi family. Write Box 46442, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C4589)SC

BEAUTIFUL educated girl for handsome Aggarwal boy 26 / 176 B.Com established business own house income high four figures, only son. Write Box 46483, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (A24768)

BEAUTIFUL educated girl for Jatav boy 31 / 160 / 3000 govt. service, medium complexion. Early simple marriage. Write Box 46479, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (M533)

BEAUTIFUL employed girl for 32 / 180 cms. MBA Bengali Rajput in central govt drawing four figure. Write Box 46516, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (C35722)DLP

BEAUTIFUL fair tall slim homely well mannered bride 18 — 21 yrs. minimum graduate for 24 / 178. Tall handsome M.A. widower. No kids Chaudhry Jat boy from a status family having own independent established garments business, early marriage, advertisement for wider choice. Write with full bio-data to Box 45633FR, Times of India, New Delhi-2.

BEAUTIFUL fair educated preferably Sikh alliance invited for handsome Sikh army officer 24 / 177 / 4000. Respected family no liabilities early marriage. Write Box 48436, Times of India, New Delhi-2. (AD4524)

BEAUTIFUL girl for Hindu Punjabi Officer Government Institution 28 / 165 / 4000 no bar girl only consideration. Write Box H 083—K, Times of India, Bombay-400001 (BYDR117057)

BEAUTIFUL homely Sober girl for a Kashyap Brahmin Bengali bank officer 34 / 170 / 4500 medical graduate. lecturer bank officer / employee preferred widow acceptable Write L. M Mukherjee 273/II C-D Sector-II Dhurwa Ranchi-4. (PT4223)

BEAUTIFUL match preferably medico for Khatri doctor boy M.D. (medicine) 165 / 29 well settled Delhi. Write M.D. Seth Pradhan — Kothi Jiwajiganj Lashkar — Gwalior. (M521)DL

BEAUTIFUL Rajput girl for 29 / 172 post-graduate Engineer Class I Railway Officer Medico or Engineer preferred. Write Box 5893, Times of India, Baroda-5. (3404X)

YADAV fair girl, Central Govt. employee (Lucknow) respectable family 30/152/1800 Write or contact to K.S.Yadav. 41/59. Chaupatiyan (Near Kakkar Park) Lucknow.

2G(901JtC)R

EMPLOYED/businessman match from same caste for Rajput 23/165 fair Intermediate slim girl no dowry. Write with full details Box 936-JtC. Pioneer. Lucknow.

2G(936-JtC)R

SUITABLE employed match for Saxena mangli B.A. wellversed in household affairs 27/165 slim girl. Write full details with horoscope to Box 940-JtC, Pioneer, Lucknow.

2G(940-JtC)R

EDUCATED employed handsome groom for 27/150 BA Govt employed beautiful Brahmin Kumaon girl Caste No bar from same caste preferred. Write Box 921JtC. Pioneer. Lucknow.

2G(921JtC)R

MATCH for beautiful fair brahmin Kasyap Gotra girl M.A. (Hindi) 24/150. no dowry early marriage Well-versed in household work. Write Box 893JtC. Pioneer. Lucknow.

2G(893JtC)R

WANTED suitable Kanyakubja Brahmin match for beautiful slim 27/153 cm. Post-graduate girl earning four figure emoluments in a semi-government establishment No dowry. Send horoscope and detailed particulars Write Box 928JtC Pioneer Lucknow

2G(928JtC)R

SRIVASTAVA parent invites proposals from Engineers/Bank Officers/well-placed groom for slim 27/158/2000 Graduate. Central Govt. employee. early decent marriage. Write Box No 915JtC. Pioneer. Lucknow 2G(915JtC)R

KAYASTHA tall gori technically qualified girl for 28/165 computer engineer, Canada qualified highly Canada employed. Write Box 982 Jtc, Pioneer, Lucknow.

2G(982 Jtc)R

SUITABLE match for 27/160/1500 M.Com. beautiful fair bank employed Agarwal girl. No bars Write Box 884JtC. Pioneer. Lucknow

2G(884JtC)R

BRAHMIN groom for fair. slim. good-looking talented 39 years (looks much younger) Kumaoni Brahmin. convent. educated. unmarried teacher. good at household work. Father was IAS officer. Write Box 94 Jtv The Pioneer Lucknow.

2G(94-Jtv)

WELL settled match for 24/158 fair post graudate beautiful homely Punjabi Arora girl expert in household work. early marriage. Write Box 93 Jtv Pioneer Lucknow

2G(93-Jtv)

SUITABLE match required for Saxena Kayastha virgin post graduate sisters age 37 & 32. Correspond Box 1048 Jtc C/o Pioneer Lucknow.

2G(1048-Jtc)R

KAYASTHA match for Saxena slim smart submissive homely girl 22/153 M.A. sub-caste no bar. early marriage. Write Box 1032 Jtc Pioneer Lucknow.

2G(1032-Jtc)R

KAYASTHA match for beautiful fair slim smart girl 24/156 convent educated M.A. brilliant career U.G.C. fellow. well versed in house hold from educated cultured family. Father gazetted officer (Retd). Write Box 1026-Jtc. Pioneer Lucknow.

2G(1026-Jtc)

MATCH for Kayastha Srivastava girl 26/155/graduate medium complexion. beautiful. homely girl. father Govt. pensioner. uncles class I officers in ONGC. caste no bar. no dowry. Early and simple marriage. Write Box 85 Jtv Pioneer Lucknow.

2G(85-Jtv)R

MATCH for Mathur girl 37 years 155 cm. M.A. M.Ed fair complexion sub-caste no bar. Write Box 89 Jtc Pioneer Lucknow.

2G(89-Jtv)

KHARE practising medicb wheatish. single constitution. girl 26/155 B.A. DMT. RMP. AAMRC. invites Kayastha alliance. write Box 1075 JtC Pioneer. Lucknow.

2G(1075 JtC)R

AGRAWALA divorcee 36/148/500 M.A.B.Ed. Headmistress needs life partner priority to Vaish Lucknow resident. Contact with full details Box 1083 JtC. Pioneer. Lucknow.

2G(1083JtC)

ALLIANCE invited from Scientists. lecturers. engineers. bank officers for Gori Kayastha girl M.Sc. Ph.D. 29/160/3000 Central Govt. employee Lucknow based. Write Box 99JtV. Pioneer. Lucknow.

2G(99JtV)

WELL-SETTLED KAYASTHA MATCH FOR ATTRACTIVE, HIGHLY QUALIFIED & EMPLOYED SAXENA GIRL 30/163/2500. HIGH CONNECTIONS. DECENT MARRIAGE. WRITE BOX 397JT, PIONEER, LUCKNOW.

LK2G(Jt 397)R

MATCH for Sunni Doctor girl 31/160 cm. M.B.B.S.M.D. employed in PMS early marriage. Write Box 1060JtC. Pioneer. Lucknow.

2G(1060JtC)

MATCH FOR Sunni girl B.Sc. 32/160 cm. fair colour smart. household expert early marriage Write Box 1081JtC. Pioneer. Lucknow

2G(1081JtC)

SUITABLE match from same caste for Kanyakubja Brahmin 21/158 M.A. beautiful sus eel well versed in household affairs Kashyap Gotra girl early marriage. Write Box 963-JtC Pioneer Lucknow.

2G(963-JtC)R

BRIDES & GROOMS

SUITABLE matches for Sunni Syed handsome brother 29/167 Central-government employee. own house and homely. beautiful sister 25/160 M.A. Write Box 1088-JtC The Pioneer. Lucknow.

2BG(1088-JtC)R

EMPLOYED. match from same caste for Kayasth 32/152/1500 divorcee issueless girl, issueless widower/divorcee acceptable and bride for 26/172 Journalist boy early marriage. Write Box 1010JtC Pioneer. Lucknow

2BG(1010-JtC)R

MATCH for Saryuparin advocate 27/6/4000 business near Allahabad girl 23/5'4"/2200 M.A.. B.Ed. teacher in Inter College Lucknow with details. Write Box 997 Jtc, Pioneer. Lucknow.

2BG(997 Jtc)R

SENIOR Officer match for Swarankar 24/165 MA fair and educated bride from educated family for 26/165 MA employed boy. Write Box 1037JtC. Pioneer. Lucknow.

2BG(1037JtC)

KANYAKUBJA Brahman match for first class M.Sc.M.Ed. 30/154 and her brother 28/175/4000 computer engineer in public sector. Write Box 91JtV. Pioneer Lucknow.

2BG(91JtV)

SUITABLE match for Kanyakubja 22/166 M.A. (Sociology) beautiful girl gazetted/equivalent officer preferred and well versed in household affairs beautiful tall girl for 24/183/4000 doing own business handsome boy. Write Arun Mishra 64. Khurshed Bagh. Lucknow. 2BG(945-JtC)R

SAXENA boy 28/163/2500 bank employee. bank employed/equivalent girl preferred and suitable match for his sister 23/153/MA (Music) wheatish towards fair early marriage Write Box 906JtC. Pioneer Lucknow.

2BG(906JtC)R

KAYASTHA matches for Srivastava-Khare beautiful gori slim girl M.A. 24/156 decent marriage and tall gori slim beautiful. bride for handsome brother M.Sc. LLB 29/172/2500 state-subordinate services girl main consideration full particulars horoscope first instance. Write Box 97-JtV Pioneer. Lucknow

2BG(97-JtV)R

BATHING BEAUTIES

Soaked heroines ensure showers at the box office

BOMBAY BUZZ

OUR movie-makers could well be magicians, what with psychic tricks up their sleeves and miraculous surprises under their non-existent top hats.

Well, how else could they work such wonders as they do with our leading ladies?

They can convince all our sensible, intelligent and no-nonsense actresses of the need for them to put on the skimpiest or the most diaphanous of outfits in cinematic situations where it is not at all called for by any stretch of irrationality.

They can call up the rain gods (over a non-existent earth-to-heaven telephonic hotline!)to request showers at any time and at any place, wherever and whenever they happen to be shooting, in the midst of any season, let alone the monsoon. And the rain gods at once comply with the request so that the cameraman and the dance director can enjoy a combined 'freak-out', creating any visual symphony (or disharmony) of eroticism they feel like.

Our film-makers can always convince our heroines that getting soaked right through to their shapely bones any place and any number of times during the day (and that too in the flimsiest of costumes!) is the best thing for their health.

They can also convince our leading ladies that the best outdoors are always on the edges of lakes or rivers, ponds or swimming pools – so that they can conveniently exercise their psychic power to bump the ladies into the water without even budging from the director's chair.

To the best of our knowledge, it was the Hollywood movie mogul **Cecil B. DeMille** who first preached in cinematic terms about cleanliness being next only to godliness through a movie he made in 1919 called ***Male and Female***. It presented some hitherto unseen and elaborate aquatic scenes, thereby attempting to reveal the sheer beauty and ecstasy of bare female bodies, elevate undressing to a fine art form and bathing from a mere sanitary duty to a lavish erotic ceremony. And after that, expectedly enough, a whole lot of film-makers followed suit in Hollywood and elsewhere, inclding our own country, of course. In the early 40s **Kedar Sharma** made a film called ***Chitralekha*** with some bathing scenes which obviously owed their inspiration to the pioneering efforts of **Cecil B. DeMille.**

But then we created our own **Cecil B. DeMille** in the name of **Raj Kapoor** who refined this particular art form through the years and his films all the way from ***Awara*** to ***Ram Teri Ganga Maili***.

And if such cinematic cleanliness is just about as groovy as godliness at the box-office for our so-called commercial film-makers, well, it's no less so for our so-called art cinema practitioners either. Remember ***Chakra?*** Haven't they too preached the same maxim since then?

– Subroto Mukherjee

Madhuri Dixit comes clean

12 prostitutes, 14 lechers arrested in raid

By Our Staff Reporter

VARANASI, July 29-Twelve prostitutes and 14 lechers were arrested this evening in a joint operation launched by the Chowk and Dashashwamedh police in the Dalmandi area.

The men arrested from the brothels included a Local Intelligence Unit (LIU) sleuth, and an MBBS doctor. All the men along with prostitutes have been taken to the Chowk police station.

The raid was conducted at about 7.30 P.M. which caught the prostitutes and brothel-runners off guard. The rumpus ensued the knock at the door by the police, in which, according to the source, a lecher got his leg fractured while trying to escape by jumping from a wall.

But the Circle Officer and the District Welfare Officer were conspicuous by their absence in the raiding party, who used to make a part of the raiding party, a source alleged.

It is to be mentioned here that the brothel were transferred to Maduadih, outskirts of the city from Dalmandi. Later, the local authorities developed Dalmandi as a major trading and business centre. But the oldest profession was not extirpated from here, it was realised only recently.

Women held for stripping another

BHOPAL, Aug. 3 (HTC)

About half a dozen women have been arrested in connection with stripping naked a 35-year-old woman near Biora in Rajgarh district, a report reaching here said.

The woman, Geetabai, who was excommunicated from the Mali community was undressed by a group of women, her face was blackened and an attempt was made to parade her on a donkey.

Geetabai in the meantime fainted and could not be mounted on the donkey. On getting the information police reached the spot and registered cases against the women.

The Mali community was irked over the conduct of Geetabai who had recently accepted a Harijan youth as her eighth husband after deserting her earlier partners.

Murder bid in eve-teasing case

By A Staff Reporter

NEW DELHI, August 7 : An incident of eve-teasing led to an attempted murder in West Delhi yesterday.

The police said the trouble began when Kala slapped a boy who had allegedly teased his sister, in Shanti Nagar, north-west Delhi. The boy related the incident to his friends who got enraged and launched a hunt for Kala.

Instead they found Kala's friends, Deepak Dua and Nirmal Kumar, both standing on the road leading to Shanti Nagar. After a heated argument, one of them took out a knife and stabbed Deepak.

Deepak was rushed to Deen Dayal Upadhyaya hospital.

The police arrested the three men, identified as Satyawan, Sanjay, and Virender, all residents of Uttam Nagar, for attempted murder.

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Conjugal harmony a bipartite process

P K Ramachandran

Irrespective of the religious leanings, from time immemorial male domination perpetrated and prevailed in human society with a sense of concerted and organized effort to demoralise and denigrate the fair sex under one pretext or the other, a process in which the role of vested interests reflect crystal clear. As advanced modern technology would have it, discrimination against women also advanced tremendously in the sense that sexual harassment now emanates from the clinical sex-determination test of amniocentesis, culminates in the matrimonial transaction of buying and selling of the prospective bridegroom and bride respectively and rest with the ultimate murder of, the so-called "better half" by the rapacious Husbands in collusion with his stooges. While child marriage, illiteracy among women, dowry system etc. play a major role in such unfortunate episodes, lackadaisical pusillanimity of women at large is squarely exploited by the culprits who perpetuate the most heinous crimes against women and escape scot-free with the connivance of the male-reigned authorities. In a society of ours, a husband extending due respect, affection and faithful service to his wife is a remote possibility and there may be some husbands who would ridicule such a criterion, if put forward, although in the matrimonial contract they are equal in status and the husbands have moral duty to respect their wives with faithful service if they expect the same from their wives. Here some simple but easy to practice clues and advices are offered to keep the couples as happy as they were

While majority of wives have respect for their mate, they get nothing of the kind from their life-partners, primarily because of the importance attached to the male child ever since his birth and the contempt and liability phenomenon assigned to the female siblings. Every husband should bear in mind that the amount of respect he gets from his wife is returnable in the same coin no matter what his educational, professional or social status is. Comparately excess wealth, education, beauty or the like should never stand in the way of mutual respect considering the simple fact that the individual personality of a wife is as important as that of a husband and that may be one of the conditions under which the marriage agreement arrived at, by virtue of which they are deemed as husband and wife. Incidentally, there is no denying the fact that a wife laboriously and assiduously does household work for more than 15 hours out of 24 hours available deserves double the emoluments that her husband gets by way of idling his 8 hours invoking unethical methods with a bit of personal aggrandisement, harming the fellow beings, harassing the less fortunate brethren, receiving bribes and other inducements as compared to a poor wife whose selfless work is the backbone of the family.

There are marriages which have been settled after compromising on the express impression that the high school failed timid girl's post graduate brother would marry the engineer boy's mentally retarded sister. In that case, the engineer husband may, in due course, develop a sense of superiority complex which will lead to inexplicable agony, anguish and suffering to his wife and vice-versa.

Absence of complexes i.e. inferiority or superiority is a good augury for harmonius marital relations. Higher education, wealth, family background, beauty, top professional position, sexual impotence inter alia create a feeling of such complexes among the couples. It is nothing but foolishness to think about such infinitesimal matters especially when the husband and wife are the two sides of the same coin and bringing such controversies to the day to day affairs is something incongruous and uncalled for. The infructuous nature of a husband Managing Director always disliking his Doctor wife can be taken for close study and analysis. This life-partners squabble every now and then not because of financial, family or beauty problems but because of the husband's stubborn attitude in his self-assessment that he is being given a secondary importance by the public as the husband of Doctor 'A' since Doctor 'A' is a very well known medical practitioner of the city known and adored by the public at large due to her excellent service to them. Inferiority complex, no doubt, gradually leads to psychological problems and requires treatment in mental hospitals. Lack of proper treatment as a bonafide patient may aggrevate the situation fruther and they may metamorphose into a chronic sufferer of schizophrenia or the like. Individual habit of comparing fellowmen or even the life-partners and arriving at a wrong conclusion onself is the root cause of inviting inferior thinking in our mind, assuming that one's life-partner or even close friends are more wealthy, educated, beautiful etc. It is imperative to have an average knowledge of oneself, one's deficiencies, sufficiencies, liabilities, assets etc without exaggerating them. Some peoples are there who will feel always about their own short-coming as compared to others although these people do not have no such short-comings. Be cautious and judicious in your day to day affairs and avoid imbibing the habit of either complexes.

It is also inevitable for the life partners to desist from finding mistakes and thereby blaming each other. It would be very interesting for themselves to consciously reminiscent their honeymoon days when they intentionally kept mum over their life-partners defaults and short-comings and even refused to believe about the authenticity of the critical remarks expressed about either of them by some friends or relatives. As time passes on, the initial mutual love start receding and they compete with each other in blaming and counter-blaming even forgetting the surroundings and carry on their accusations in front of, the children, relatives and outsiders on matters of trivial nature. Here it may be remembered that sexual interest can be the paramount factor responsible for their silence during the honeymoon days.

Do not try to [illegible] every mate keeping in mind that after a family background of two or three decades, one enters into the married life and it would be futile to persuade for change in the habits, customs and manners of the life-partner. It is better to have self-change rather than make the mate to change, so as to suit the life-partners habits and wishes.

Always keep confidence in the life partner. Both of them might have had bitter tastes in life either before or after the marriage known to each other or kept secret by one and rumoured somewhere. It is

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the responsibility of both of them to keep quiet on such matters and do not try to mingle them with the sole intention of putting the life-partner to humiliating ordeal. In case the life-partner is involved in some quarrels or arguments with somebody, always support, help and assist him/her and do not join hands with the enemies even if the life-partner is doing something wrong. There are many ways to set the matter right and joining hands with the enemies would be suicidal. Comparing the life-partner with others with a view to belittle him/her is to be avoided from the inception of wedded life. Mrs A is very proficient in computer programming or Mr B has very attractive hair etc would be sufficient to jeopardise the harmonius wedded life. Instead, displaying love and affection towards the life-partner vociferously in front of others would strengthen the marital relations. Contined anger bursts into quarrels; similarly non-expression of love and affection is also harmful. On the other hand, applausive expression would pay the dividend. In deserving instances, the life-partner is to be congratulated and praised for the good work done or great achievement attained. Such occasion of exhileration occur very rarely in life and it is the life-partners bounden duty to express the joyous occasion celebrated and applauded. Another reason for marital squabbles is the life-partners discussion pertaining to their relatives. In our society, relatives have nothing to do with a husband and wife since after the marriage, relatives becomes a non-entity as compared to life-partners' separate-identity. The subject matter of relatives should be kept away from our family affairs and either of the life-partner should ever bring that subject for discussion or arguments. If you have spare time, utilize it exclusively with the mate, arrange picnic programmes, spend time in playing cards with the partner or maintain gardens or the like. The whole time is not meant for the office work, kitchen duty, bearing and rearing of children alone. Always bear in mind that sarcastic remarks against one's mate are not used. Cultivate simple, amiable and affable manners, words, and remarks towards one's life-partner as we are aware that sometimes the basic reason for family quarrels is a single word or group of words used by either of the partners. Caste no bar marriages run into troubles due to the in-laws, frequent taunting remarks coupled with boasting assertion about their ancestral popularity and property, family background etc.

In so far as sexual matters are concerned, we may conclude that it is an explosive area of matrimonial discordancy. While sexual impotency or deficiency etc could be solved with proper treatment/counselling, infidelity and adultry may lead to breakage of the marriage contract. If the relations are strained due to pecuniary problems, planning and budgetting from the grassroot is [illegible]. Devise a family budget and plan a family consisting of the barest minimum children to avoid frictions. Children are to be brought up in a mutually agreed manner and not according to one of the partner's whims alone.

Women entitled to half of budget: Alva

HT Correspondent

NEW DELHI, Aug. 2

A question on the welfare of women led to a virtual half an hour discussion on the subject during the Question Hour in the Rajya Sabha today, with Minister of State for Women and Child Development Margaret Alva responding enthusiastically that "we have a right to 50 per cent of the national Budget."

The question asked by Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee and Mr Kailash Pati Mishra (Bharatiya Janata Party) related to the National Perspective Plan for Women.

In a supplementary query, Mrs Kanak Mukherjee (CPI-M) wondered whether the Plan would remain in paper only as it stated that it required no extra financial allocation. Was it only for propaganda, she asked.

Mrs Alva said there was no need for separate allotment of funds for the Plan. Each Ministry could take care of the portion of the Plan relevant to it and provide suitable funds. A separate allocation for the perspective plan would make it appear as if women wanted charity. In fact they had a right to half the national budget.

Mr Vajpayee said 75 per cent of the women were illiterate and their drop-out rate from schools was high. Would a 30 per cent reservation for women in the Panchayats solve the problem, he asked.

The Minister said bringing women to Panchayats or Parliament itself would not solve the problem. They would have to be associated in the decision-making process.

Mrs Alva announced that the Government would soon take a decision on the recommendations contained in the perspective plan and found implementable. Of the 353 recommendations, about 200 were found acceptable. The process of consultations with State Governments and other agencies was required to be gone through.

When Mrs Jayanti Natarajan (Cong-I) referred to a "statement" by BJP member Vijaya Raje Scindia in favour of Sati practice, Mr Vajpayee protested that one should not go by Press reports. Mrs Natarajan said she could withdraw her comment if Mr Vajpayee maintained that the reports were incorrect.

Mrs Alva said it was true that a member did say something on Sati and it was widely reported. She said that law provided that a member could not propagate the practice.

'Change in social attitude needed'

BOMBAY, July 15 (PTI): Noted film actress and winner of the international human rights award, Shabana Azmi, today called for a change in the social attitudes to end human rights violation.

A constant and concerted effort should be made to strip tradition off its legitimacy whereever it resulted in discriminatory labour, Ms Azmi said replying to a felicitation at a function held here.

Ms Azmi said she believed that violations of human rights could take many forms. It could be violated 'internationally by individuals as when a person is denied entry to a eating house on racial grounds or can be structural like when a worker is rendered unemployed by force of market mechanisms', she said.

Social and structural denials of human rights of workers, especially of the migrant workers, of women, of the minority communities and of children, were 'universal', she added.

Ms Azmi said India was the largest democratic country in the world and the 10th largest industrialised nation, but is was also true that more than 40 crore people were living below the poverty line and the number of 'working' children in the country was more or less the same as the total population of Britain.

She said: "On one hand women are worshipped as deities having supreme powers and on the other there were 700 dowry deaths in Delhi alone last year".

Azmi also referred about the 'other ways' of violations of human rights when 'obsolete and hazardous technology is thrust upon people, when multi-national corporations exploit its cheap labour market, foist dangerous drugs banned in the west, upon an ignorant but captive market'.

Concluding that human rights could not be discussed in a vacumm, Azmi said everyone should pause to question the value-system that created inequal balances and power structures.

The function was presided over by the Minister of Industry, Mr Ramrao Adik.

Women protest against sexual abuse

WOMEN employees of the Chandigarh Union territory administration have threatened to launch a stir if action is not taken against officials allegedly involved in cases of sexual abuse and harrassment, reports TOINS from Chandigarh.

The UT Women Employees' Welfare Association (UTWEWA) has served a 15-day notice on the administration to secure them justice or face the consequences. The association has also decided to apprise the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi; of the plight of its members.

The association president, Mrs Harjinder Jewandha, and its general secretary, Mrs Kuldip Sodhi, have alleged that women employees are not safe during office hours. They cited the alleged rape of 10 ayahs working under the district education officer. Some male employees are alleged to have taken these ayahs to Maloya Village on the pretext of getting them appointment letters. The women were allegedly raped in the village.

IN BRIEF

They also cited another case where two women employees were allegedly raped in the office of an IAS official who was on leave. The culprits were the official's personal staff. They alleged that though the police raided the office and caught the culprits red-handed, no further action was taken against them.

Women traffic cops storming another male bastion

NEW DELHI, July 16 (PTI): Women cops now regulate traffic at some of the busiest intersections in the capital, storming yet another traditional male bastion.

These women cops, smartly controlling the movement of traffic and holding sway in both sweltering heat and chilly mornings, have fought it the hard way to overcome family compulsions and demolish myths about their social and rural backgrounds.

About ten such women constables are posted at some of most overburdened crossings of the city, whose roads are jammed with an estimated 1.4 million vehicles.

Women's work still undervalued

BOMBAY, July 16 (UNI)

HOW often do men say, "In our family women do not work?"

This undervaluation of women's work has built up a value system in the country that recognises women as primarily domestic workers and thus only "supplementary earners" in the labour market.

According to Dr Vibhuti Patel, a social scientist working in the field of women studies, the lack of recognition and appreciation of women's work has led to prejudice against their role and contribution in society. These prejudices, in turn, have slotted women, already low on their self-image, into a lower secondary status and that justifies their being paid low wages.

Thus the female labour force is regarded merely "as an auxiliary labour force to be hired last during periods of economic upsurge and to be fired first during periods of economic recessions."

Dr Patel has criticised the dichotomy posed between social and domestic labour and subsequently industrial and household production and called for such an assessment of women's economic contribution to society that takes into cognisance the borderline activities between housework and economic work which the majority of third world women do.

According to her, the housework that women do like cooking, cleaning and child care, among others that are vital for the subsistence of the family and take up a major part of the day, are not treated as economically productive. And even if, alongside their usual housework, women do "productive work" that directly or indirectly contribute to family income, this is generally lost sight of by all.

However, at the same time, men working within the household are not ignored and are included in the labour force even if they are doing "non-wage" work.

This happens because at times women's own perception of their role in household production, although they may be highly economically active, is similar to that of new. They go along with the presumption that men are the natural heads of the household and women the supplementary wage earners, even though they may be the sole providers for their families.

According to Dr Joy Deshmukh, such biases arise due to the bypassing of the inter-relationships within the household which is never treated as a unit for but only as a unit of analysis.

The household must be treated as an arena of activity so that traditional definitions and approaches are altered and the distance between facts and presumption bridged effectively.

Emphasising the need to make the household an object of study, Dr Deshmukh says the household more often than not conceals the beginning of gender based inequalities — economic, social or cultural — with women at the wrong end of the equation.

A study of the households as a unit can throw light on women's lives and work as different households accord women different statuses and the type and structure of the household ultimately has a bearing on that status. Of course, this status is concealed in issues related to women's fertility, work productivity, authority and independence.

Giving women the upper hand

By a Staff Reporter

Women at a self-defence training class at R. K. Puram, New Delhi. — The Statesman.

A TWIST and a punch — and she throws him to the ground, unconscious. Until recently, the fair sex getting the better of their male counterparts in a brawl was rather difficult to imagine. However, women can now pay eve-teasers, robbers and members of their clan back in their own coin by the apparently effortless manoeuvres of judo and karate.

The "self-defence" courses started by the Delhi Police will enable a smooth journey for women on buses and on Delhi roads.

In south-west Delhi, the judo-karate craze is catching on like wildfire. Nearly 1,000 girls have been enrolled for these classes in less than 6 centres since the launching of this programme on June 10.

Every morning and evening the local parks in Janakpuri, Mayapuri, R. K. Puram and Vinay Nagar are swarming with budding female Bruce Lees, being trained in the martial arts.

"We had to close admissions and extend the course up to July 10, on public request, said the senior Special Police Officer of R. K. Puram.

Judo and karate needs concentration, an alert mind and quick reflexes. It is actually a few tricks one has to remember to render the other person helpless. When the weak points in a body are known controlling movement is not difficult.

The programme was launched last month with a view to inculcate self-confidence among women. "This will enable the women to defend themselves from everyday harassment," says Mr A. S. Khan, Deputy Commissioner of Police, South-West district. Even housewives or elderly women, if properly trained, can prevent daylight robberies and apprehend intruders, he said.

However, most of those enrolled are young girls aged between 6 and 25, almost all of them students.

"This will not only help us to move about freely but also to protect other women," says Jasleen Nanda, a student.

Dr Khan is however keen to have more housewives on his course.

Housewives are probably interested, but they feel the timing inconvenient.

But for Bimla Passi, an employee of the P & T department, timings are no obstacle. "I leave office at 6 p.m. and make it a point to be here by 6-30 p.m., she says. She feels learning judo and karate is not only a weapon for self-defence but a sport in itself.

Her enthusiasm is shared by other participants. "The Delhi Police should approach all the schools to make courses like this compulsory for girls, suggests Jasleen.

This is easier said than done. "It is intriguing and rather unfortunate that a programme like this evoked response only from the educated upper middle class," said Mr Khan. Jasleen's suggestion is supported by a large number of enthusiastic parents, who come to watch the rehearsals everyday. "If these courses are started in schools then we won't have to come here everyday to drop and pick up our daughters," said a gentleman who comes all the way from IIT with his daughter, waits for an hour and then takes her back.

However, there still are parents who are deterred by distances, and still others who balk at the idea of their daughters being trained by male coaches. Thus, it is imperative that the idea should first be accepted by families.

If this programme in south-west Delhi is successful then steps would be taken to begin these in all community centres or even health clubs, female coaches would be provided and other facilities made available. At present, of course, only enthusiasm amd determination can carry coaches and participants along.

Only a few coaches from Sports Authority of India, Jawaharlal Nehru Stadium and a few others have volunteered to train the students free of cost. Mr Shiv Kumar Kohli, a record holder in judo and a coach at Janakpuri and Vinay Nagar, enthused, "I don't mind putting in some money from my own pocket if I bring out talent in some students. A few of them really have it."

However, a coach at R. K. Puram does not totally agree. What do minor children know about self-defence? They join the classes for the fun of it. The motivation is greatest among those who have actually been harassed.

The DCP admits that uniforms would make it all look formal. But financial constraints and other irregularities have all contrived to make the classes resemble a fancy dress show.

Whatever the drawbacks and the shortcomings of the scheme, it has taken a lot of effort on the part of police to motivate even a handful of people. They went door to door on an awareness campaign. Then they had meetings with the SPOs and the welfare association to initate the programme. The Delhi Police has now decided to give certificates at the end of the session. "After all they need an incentive too," the organizers say.

The efforts of the police will finally be awarded if and when these trained women come to us with a smile on their faces and an offender dragging behind them. It might take some time for others but Bimla has already done it. A few days of coaching have already made her confident enough to embarrass a ruffian and give him a blow or two. Recounting the incident, Bimla said she had managed to punch an eve-teaser on his nose and virtually throw him out of the bus. Had it not been for others, the ruffian would have been in the hospital by now, she says with a smile on her face. That would surely raise the morale of the police officers.

CALCUTTA:CITY OF JOY

CALCUTTA: THE CITY OF JOY

Oh Calcutta, the City of Joy, is soon to celebrate its 300th birthday. After seeing Calcutta one can wonder how did it manage to reach that number. And, like many of its American urban counterparts, I'm not sure how many more years that city will have until more and more of its infrastructure collapses under the weight of its population's demands. Dominic LaPierre's book entitled The City of Joy is a wonderfully written book describing this city. To call it a City of Joy is truly an oxymoron. I have placed several excerpts in Volume 2 of this project. The pages that follow contain pictures of Calcutta that appeared in a Calcutta weekend supplement - they're typical scenes.

THE OTHER SIDE OF . . .

FOR Robert Clive, who saw Calcutta a little after its birth, the city which will soon celebrate its tricentenary was "the most wicked place in the universe". In early 19th century, William Bentwick, found "the spectacle of Calcutta altogether the most curious and magnificent I have met with". In the same century, Rudyard Kipling said it was "the city of dreadful night". Mark Twain, who lectured in Calcutta in 1896, felt Calcutta is "enough to make a brass doorknob mushy". And, it is said, Lenin had proclaimed that "the road to world revolution lies through Peking, Shanghai and Calcutta". In more modern times, a book calling it the City of Joy became a best-seller. Here are some vignettes of the city, scenes which are unlikely to change after decades. The not so affluent, joyful part of Calcutta. But, nevertheless, a part of the city.

. . . THE CITY OF JOY

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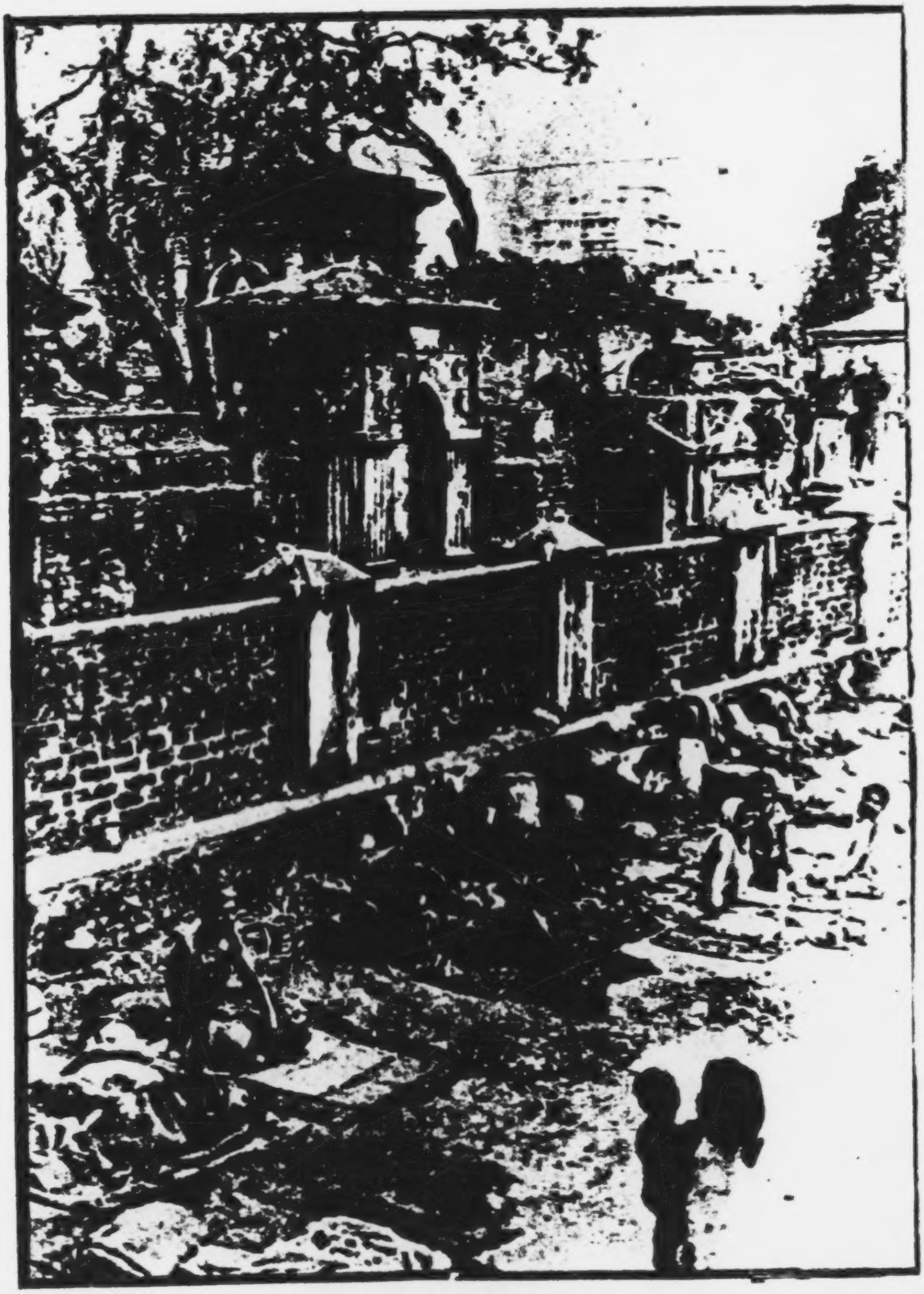

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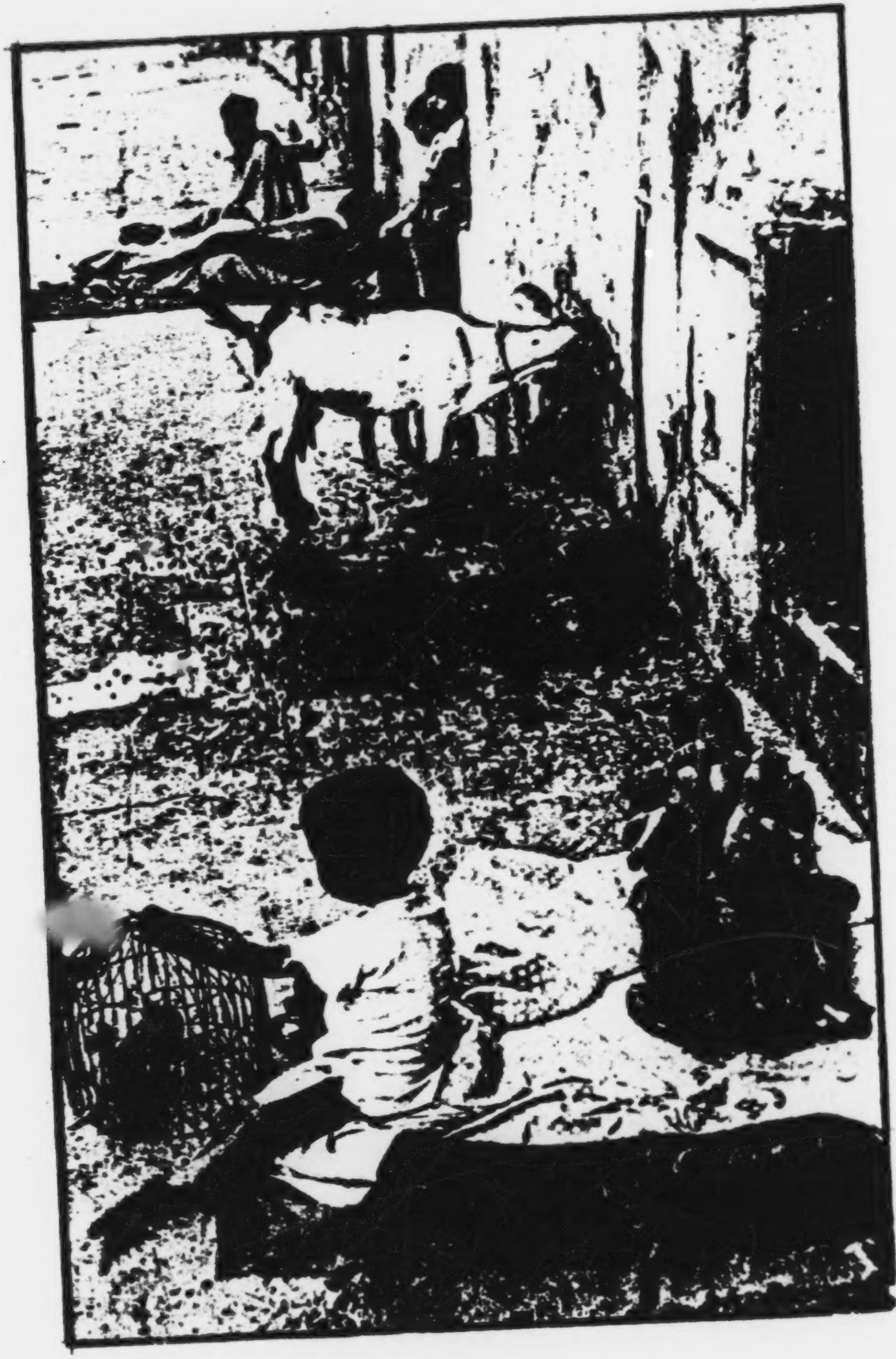

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INDIA: FEELING ITS CURRY

INDIA: FEELING ITS CURRY

Forty years young and also thousands of years old - an interesting play on numbers - modern India, post imperialism, after the Raj, is a new nation industrializing, looking out to the future, and growing in strength.

I suppose one could look at India as an old civilization, ebbing and flowing, like the cycles of life - expanding, contracting, with cycles measured in terms of centuries or perhaps generations; Harappan, Gupta, Mauyra were Indian empires all - and we know (at least I know) very little about these.

India is feeling its political, economic, or military oats. She is still somewhat preoccupied with her Moslem rival, Pakistan; but a few years back India's support of Bangladesh's independence movement certainly weakened her arch enemy. Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan have been enveloped, absorbed, and made satellites to a varying degree; only Nepal has maintained a degree of autonomy. Recent inclinations (overtures) to Red China incurred the wrath of Mother India - articles so noting that follow. Sri Lanka is another story. Eons ago Indian Tamils migrated to Sri Lanka seeking work. These industrious people helped to futher the development of this island nation. As a minority the Tamils were persecuted by the native majority Sinhalese. There are obvious parallels to other immigrant groups the world over. India, perhaps in coveting this island, either encouraged or didn't discourage native Tamil separatist movements both in India and in Sri Lanka. (The Tamil separatists are quite fractionalized, and they have been known to turn on themselves as much and as easily as on the government controlled majority Sinhalese.) India used the unrest to send a peacekeeping force here - sound familiar. Some 2000 deaths later, the IPKF is being gradually pulled out. It's an election year in India (1989-1990).

Several activities come to mind in using the material in this section.

A) Compare India today as a young 40 year old nation to the USA at a similar stage. In our early years we added Louisiana 1803, pushed the Cherokee Nation into Florida, and got Texas and our southwest through a series of wars and near wars with Mexico; this compares to India in S. Asia with Nepal and Sri Lanka.

B) India and Sri Lanka, U.S. and Vietnam - any parallels, any differences.

C) Role playing offers you an excellent opportunity to get students involved; assign students to be the foreign minister of Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Nepal, and India. Have them express their nation's points of view vis a vis each other.

D) Have the students compare India and China in S. Asis to the U.S. and U.S.S.R. on the world scene. Differences in government, economic approach and the wheeling and dealing for control in an area are good parallels to use.

An area of discord

India's confrontation with Sri Lanka leads to the cancellation of the SAARC foreign ministers' meeting and throws South Asia into disarray

South Asian politics is the art of the impossible. At least as far as India is concerned. And the result: mid-1989 finds India's regional diplomacy touching new lows with the only major SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation) country not openly hostile to Big Brother being Pakistan. Who would have thought that Pakistan, traditionally always at loggerheads with India, would be its closest ally in South Asia? And even a year back, how many could predict that India's most bitter critics in the region would be its long-standing friends—Sri Lanka and Nepal?

Last December, when leaders of the seven member countries of SAARC posed for the world media at Daaman-e-koh, a picturesque retreat in the Marghala Hills near Islamabad during the fourth summit, it seemed as if this regional grouping—derided by cynics as a mere "talk-shop"—was finally fulfilling its laudable objectives. After all, it had brought Rajiv Gandhi and Benazir Bhutto, heads of two countries considered sworn enemies in the region, to the negotiating table. It was the first time in almost three decades that an Indian Prime Minister had visited Pakistan—never before had leaders of these two countries established such a good rapport in so short a time. As the beaming faces of 44-year-old Rajiv and 35-year-old Benazir stared out from TV screens and newspapers wrote about the almost conspiratorial smiles the two exchanged at the joint press briefing on the final day of the summit, it looked like the beginning of a new, and dramatic, chapter in South Asia.

But recent events gave a handle to SAARC's critics to scream that the organisation was just a "mirage". Hopes of South Asian unity were shattered as Sri Lanka announced that it would not attend the foreign ministers' conference scheduled to begin on 1 July at Islamabad in protest against "India's intransigence". In a six-page letter to his Pakistani counterpart Sahebzada Yaqub Khan (copies of which were distributed to all other foreign ministers assembled at Islamabad), Ranjan Wijeratne, the Sri Lankan foreign minister, said that his country's decision to stay away was a protest gesture to highlight its differences with India on the question of withdrawal of the IPKF (Indian Peace Keeping Force) from Sri Lankan soil.

Sri Lanka's adamant stand led to the cancellation of the first day's session of the SAARC senior officials' meeting, creating a record of sorts. It was the first time since SAARC's birth in December 1985 at Dhaka that the committee of senior officials had been unable to hold its sittings prior to those of the standing committee of foreign secretaries and council of ministers, comprising the foreign ministers of the seven nations.

SAARC summit: basically, it is India's party

The boycott of the SAARC meet was the most dramatic of the gestures through which Sri Lanka has sought to internationalise its differences with India over the continued presence of the IPKF on the island

Telephone trunk lines among the SAARC capitals buzzed incessantly as frantic efforts were made to persuade Colombo to revise its decision. Pakistan, the current head of SAARC, apparently suggested that India issue a statement placating Sri Lanka, but India was determined not to bow to pressure. A foreign office spokesman told pressmen in New Delhi on 26 June, "We refuse to accept such blatant violations of the SAARC charter, especially Article 11, which clearly states that bilateral and contentious issues shall be excluded from SAARC deliberations. We appreciate the concern of Sri Lanka, but this should not have stood in the way of its participation in the Islamabad meeting."

As the SAARC charter stipulates that all decisions have to be taken unanimously, Pakistan announced the postponement of the ministerial meet. The ensuing crisis, though the gravest, is, however, by no means the only one in its four-year-old history. The road to regional cooperation in South Asia has always been riddled with pitfalls. Despite stipulations in the association's charter that bilateral issues would not come under its purview, the latter have often come in the way of the organisation's smooth functioning. As a senior diplomat of a SAARC country posted in New Delhi told SUNDAY, "Unlike other regional groupings, like the ASEAN or the EEC, the SAARC does not have a common threat perception. Again, unlike the first two, there are vast discrepancies within its member states. India is a giant with pygmies all around. And India is also the only country in the association which has common borders with the other countries...In SAARC, instead of a common threat perception, there is suspicion of mutual threat..."

The recent boycott was the most dramatic of the gestures through which Sri Lanka has sought to internationalise its differences with India. In May 1985, at the Thimpu meeting of foreign ministers, Sri Lanka had alleged that Tamil militants were operating from bases in India and threatened to stay away from the conference. At the eleventh hour, it was persuaded by the host, King Jigme Wanchuk, to attend.

Then again in June 1987, when the SAARC foreign ministers were to meet in Delhi, Sri Lanka objected to India unilaterally sending food supplies to Jaffna. Rajiv personally spoke to the then president, Junius Jayewardene, to ensure his country's presence at the council of ministers in the Indian capital.

The immediate fall-out of the postponement of the foreign ministers' meet is the prospect of a headless SAARC secretariat. The term of the present secretary-general, Abul Hasan of Bangladesh, expires in mid-July. His successor has to be chosen by then. At one stage, Sri Lanka had been reportedly asked whether it would endorse decisions taken at Islamabad even if it stuck to its stand of staying away from the ministerial meeting. However, according to diplomatic sources in New Delhi, it did not agree to this. Last week, as the impasse at Islamabad continued, the Sri Lankan high commissioner in Delhi, Dr Stanley Kalpage, a former chemistry

Unlikely friends, likely conflicts

Who's afraid of a Siachen agreement?

The Lankans want out of the accord they signed with such fanfare only two years ago. The Nepalese believe that Big Brother wants to starve them. And the Bangladeshis remain intensely suspicious of their one-time 'liberator'. That leaves India and Pakistan as the unlikeliest friends in the subcontinent, and both Rajiv Gandhi and Benazir Bhutto spare no effort to broadcast their new-found harmony.

The problem with unlikely friendships, alas, is that they ignore all too likely areas of conflict. So it has been with India and Pakistan. Both countries have armies eyeballing each other on either side of the border at sub-zero temperatures in the Siachen glacier. As the glacier is of no use to anyone ("There is not a blade of grass there," the late Gen. Zia-ul Haq said in 1985), the whole thing is no more than a prestige issue. And prestige issues can never be easily resolved.

Last month, attempts to talk away the differences led to a fiasco, with a diplomatic rebuke for Pakistan foreign secretary Humayun Khan and egg all over the face of his Indian counterpart, S.K. Singh.

After talks between the foreign secretaries and defence secretaries of the two countries were over, Khan and Singh decided to address the media. Both agreed that the talks had gone well and Khan added that the two countries would withdraw their armies to the 1972 positions. S.K. Singh seemed happy with this statement and the next day, this 'agreement' made the headlines. Score one for good neighbourliness.

Not quite. The very next day, the external affairs ministry put its official spokesman up to denying that any agreement had been reached. But surely, Singh had gone along with Khan's claim? No, said the spokesman, he had simply not contradicted it.

The problem with unlikely friendships is that they ignore likely areas of conflict. So it is with Pakistan and India, whose armies eyeball each other on either side of the border at Siachen glacier

Bizarre enough. But there was more. The statement issued after the defence secretaries' meeting suggested that there had been a breakthrough: "There was agreement...based on deployment of forces...so as to conform with the Shimla Agreement." This suggested that India had accepted Benazir's claim that the relations between the two countries should be governed by the 1972 Shimla Agreement and strengthened Khan's contention.

So what had happened? The answer seems to be that India and Pakistan had agreed to pull back from Siachen and from the pointless conflict (initiated by India in 1984). But no dates were set and India wanted it done quietly. Khan, however, thought that this was a good way to get some domestic acclaim for Be-

On the Siachen border: a prestige issue for both sides

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Rajiv Gandhi with Benazir Bhutto: unlikely friends

professor, was asked at a public function whether Sri Lanka would continue to boycott all future meetings of the SAARC. Kalpage replied, "I cannot answer your question. Only President Premadasa can do that."

Since no decisions involving the association can be taken unless all seven member nations agree, it is not clear how the next secretary-general will be selected. A lot, of course, will depend on Abul Hasan's scheduled visit to Colombo in the first week of July and whether he will be able to impress upon the Sri Lankan government the urgency of holding the postponed ministerial meeting soon so that SAARC's functioning is not disrupted. For instance, the budget for the SAARC Agricultural Information Centre in Bangladesh has to be approved so that the programmes do not grind to a halt.

But the most important aspect of Sri Lanka's recent boycott is the questions it has thrown up about the norms governing the behaviour of member countries of SAARC. "The question is whether there should be a common norm of behaviour in the South Asian region. Or should there be one convention for a big country and another for smaller countries. India was invited by Sri Lanka. Now the host is asking the guest to leave, but the guest is refusing. The question is: should India justify its actions by setting its own rules that contradict universally-accepted norms of inter-state relations?" wonders a New Delhi-based diplomat of a SAARC country.

The Sri Lankan high commissioner, Dr Kalpage, asserted at a recent meeting of the Indo-Sri Lankan Cultural Council, "There is no attempt to wreck SAARC. There was no attempt to embarrass India. We were simply not in a mood to attend the meeting (at Islamabad)." He also noted, "If we had intentions of raising the issue of IPKF withdrawal at the SAARC meeting, we would have obviously attended it. The decision to stay away was a gesture of protest. My foreign minister wrote to his Pakistani counterpart not to say that Sri Lanka wants to disrupt the meeting. The letter merely said that we have a problem with India; we understand that SAARC meetings are not meant for raising bilateral issues, but because of present circumstances, because of what he termed 'India's intransigence', we would like to make a symbolic protest ...We know we are not in a position to sort out our problem with India by force. President Premadasa believes in non-violence. And the protest gesture was to express our people's anguish and anger, like Mahatma Gandhi's *satyagraha*."

Was Sri Lanka's protest gesture warranted? New Delhi's position is as uncompromising as Sri Lanka's. "SAARC has to take a firm decision on whether it will allow any one country to act in a petulant manner and bring the whole organisation into disrepute," say South Block officials firmly. India asserts that it "will not be browbeaten", though it will not do anything to "break SAARC". New Delhi has also made it clear to Pakistan that as the current head of SAARC, it is that country's responsibility to diffuse the current tension. "SAARC is Pakistan's baby right now. Surely, it does not want the baby to die in her own lap," said an Indian official. Another pointed out that "even on previous occasions, Sri Lanka had threatened to boycott SAARC meetings, but had been eventually persuaded to attend. If Sri Lanka persists with its current stand, it would only mean that Pakistan does not have enough clout."

The current imbroglio has also given SAARC critics the chance to once again claim that the organisation is nothing but a forum which offered "opportunities to other countries to gang up against India".

Originally, it was Bangladesh's idea to set up an organisation to promote South Asian regional cooperation. Bangladesh had been having problems with India over water-sharing and Farakka. And it thought that a forum like SAARC would help its cause as it could be used to exert moral pressure on India. Indira Gandhi was not keen on the idea, but eventually agreed, after a great deal of persuasion by the late Bangladesh President Zia-ur Rehman.

nazir and announced that even on Siachen India had accepted the Shimla formula suggested by her.

The problem is that India went past the 1972 boundaries in 1984 (arguing that she had a legal claim) and so Khan's assertion sounded suspiciously like saying that the Indians had agreed to retreat. Obviously S.K. Singh's political masters could not accept that and hence, the retractions and recriminations.

However, neither side has cancelled the next defence secretaries' meeting. So perhaps the Siachen conflict will be de-escalated, eventually. Only, both countries will be more discreet this time.

Big Brother gets angry

The humiliation of Nepal is almost complete

India seems to be the only one to have gained from the massacre at Tiananmen Square and the resulting chaos in China. With Asia's biggest power at war with itself, super India has found its position considerably strengthened. Nowhere is this more apparent than in its dealings with the Himalayan kingdom of Nepal.

While both sides offer long and tedious justifications, the dispute is really over Nepal's attempts to free itself of its dependence on India. The Nepalese had begun courting the Chinese, had tried to reduce imports from India and had made other assertions of independence.

Such moves did not go down well with Big Brother. India retaliated by telling land-locked Nepal that it could only have transit rights if it agreed to club these with trade. When the Nepalese seemed hesitant, imports of fuel and other vital supplies from India dried up and all transit points, except for two, were boarded up.

Nepal called the Indian move a blockade and warned, through gritted teeth, that it would suffer temporary hardship but when the blockade was over, would end up in the Chinese sphere of influence.

India laughed away the threat and now, South Block is in hysterics. With China in upheaval, the Nepalese find that their problems are of no consequence to Beijing and have returned, cap in hand, to New Delhi.

The mandarins at South Block have been cool. They took a month and a half to reply to a letter from the Nepalese foreign ministry requesting talks, and ignored four reminders from Kathmandu. New Delhi has been advised by Arvind Deo, its canny ambassador to Nepal, that King Birendra cannot hold out for long. After a few weeks of flag-waving, the Nepalese have begun blaming their King for the shortages of essential commodities. Five student groups have urged the Nepalese Prime Minister to settle and the banned Nepali Congress is using the discontent to launch a movement against Birendra.

At present, the betting is that New Delhi will wait till Nepal is desperate and then force its terms on Kathmandu. In the process, it will probably alienate the Nepalese but then, isn't that what being a regional super power is all about.

Rajiv Gandhi (right) with King Birendra: waiting for him to come around

SAARC was born in December 1985 at Dhaka. There is some substance in the charge that SAARC has not progressed beyond fringe issues and token gestures, such as declaring 1989 as 'SAARC year against drug abuse' and 1990 as 'SAARC year of the girl child'.

Of course, there has been greater cultural interaction between the member countries and several agreements have been signed such as the convention on suppression of terrorism and the South Asian food security reserve. But the most important issues, which are inevitably bilateral in nature (and thus out of bounds according to the SAARC charter), have not been thrashed out. At SAARC meets, leaders have religiously proclaimed that the forum is meant to emphasise what binds the seven countries rather than what divides them.

SAARC's real contribution, however, as a diplomat of a member country pointed out, is the opportunity it offers leaders of its member countries for 'informal consultations'. The Rajiv-Benazir tête-à-tête at Daaman-e-Koh in Pakistan signalled the beginning of a new era in bilateral relations.

Bangladesh, as the originator of the SAARC idea, is naturally worried about the future of the organisation and was upset about the cancellation of the ministerial meet at Islamabad. Its foreign minister, Anisul Islam Mahmud, declared in Dhaka that the postponement of the conference was likely to hamper the functioning of SAARC. Mahmud termed the circumstances that led to the cancellation as "most undesirable" and said that efforts should be made to convene the meeting at the earliest.

Will SAARC survive the latest setback? A diplomat of a SAARC country noted,"South Asian regional cooperation without India has no meaning. And South Asian regional cooperation with India in a position to exert pressure on smaller countries has no meaning." President Jayewardene in an emotional speech at Islamabad during the last SAARC summit called India the "key to SAARC".

At an international SAARC workshop in Dhaka on 24 March, 1988, there was unanimous expression of concern about India's "pre-eminence" in the region.

Most of India's neighbours are suspicious of its motives and, at the same time, conscious of its power and influence. Unless India inspires confidence in its smaller neighbours, regional cooperation in South Asia will be only a concept, not a reality.

Patralekha Chatterjee/*New Delhi*

CONFRONTATION

Relations between India and Sri Lanka plummet to an all-time low as President Premadasa copes with internal strife

It was as if there was no cause for despair. During all of last week—save a short helicopter hop to attend Cabinet in Colombo—President Ranasinghe Premadasa was cosily ensconced in the hill town of Mahiyangana, which lies east of the capital. There, as Sri Lankan television captured in vivid detail, a smiling President parcelled out goodies to grateful and fawning villagers, listened intently to their problems and affectionately tweaked little children's ears.

Premadasa was clearly enjoying himself. For Gam Udawa—the 11-year-old village rehabilitation scheme that aims at developing a different region of the island every year—is his very own baby. Premadasa has overseen the scheme with religious devotion and this year's Gam Udawa was all the more special being his first as President. Premadasa, it seemed, was in no mood to trade in his 'pastoral pilgrimage' for politics.

Yet, it was politics that occupied the minds of his people. For during the 11-day Gam Udawa festivities, Sri Lanka slipped into what could become the most serious crisis it has ever faced. On the diplomatic front, India's response to the President's demand that the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) go home by the end of July was unfriendly. The Indians made it clear that there was no way the IPKF would leave by that deadline and that Sri Lankan 'blackmail'—such as its decision to stay away from the SAARC foreign ministers' meeting at Islamabad—wouldn't work. Worse—at least from Premadasa's point of view—was the Indian reaction to his demand that the IPKF call off its operations against the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). The answer once again was 'no way'. Moreover, there was no let-up in the Indian army's recently intensified offensive against the Tamil militant organisation. Last week's official Tiger count read: 52 dead (possibly a record of sorts). The fear is that the negotiations currently under way

R.Premadasa and Rajiv Gandhi (insets) fall out over the withdrawal of Indian troops, as the IPKF steps up its offensive against the LTTE

WHO'S WHO AMONG THE TAMIL MILITANT GROUPS

The origins of Sri Lankan Tamil militancy have not been adequately understood and remain somewhat obscure. In the early Seventies, the Tamil Manavi Peravi, better known as the Tamil Youth Front (TYF), was formed under the patronage of the Tamil United Front (TUF), which later went on to become the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF). While it would be inaccurate to describe the TYF as a militant outfit, it attracted many youths who were not averse to using violence for political ends.

By the mid-Seventies, some TYF leaders had established their own militant groups. For some time, there existed only three or four organisations, but with the advent of the Eighties, the Tamil guerrilla movement splintered into a large number of groups. Many of these failed to gather an adequate following and internecine rivalry took care of some of the rest. Today, there are only a few which matter.

LTTE's Velupillai Prabhakaran: refused to accept the accord and entered into a bloody battle with the IPKF

LTTE: The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam emerged the most powerful group in the early Eighties. It is also perhaps the most brutal (the Tigers have savaged rival militant organisations), the best disciplined and the most committed (the cyanide capsules that they wear around their necks in the event of capture testify to this).

Its leader, Velupillai Prabhakaran's refusal to accept the Indo-Sri Lanka accord meant having to face the might of the Indian army. Two years of warring with the IPKF may have weakened the Tigers militarily, but their popularity in the north remains undiminished. Recently, the LTTE tried to keep the IPKF off its back by negotiating directly with Colombo—ostensibly to find a way of being accommodated within the democratic process. But from all appearances, the turnaround is only tactical—aimed at pressuring the government to withdraw the IPKF.

EPRLF: The Eelam Peoples Revolutionary Liberation Front attracted widespread notice only a few years ago, after the abduction of an American couple it suspected of being CIA agents. Low caste Tamils form its main constituency and the group enjoys grassroots support in the island's east. The Marxist outfit has always boasted of a strong ideological framework. Organised demonstrations in support of the Palestinian struggle, the Sandinistas and so on have been very much a part of its activities.

The EPRLF, which survived the LTTE's wrath in mid-'86 (when some 70 members were killed and 500 forced to surrender), now runs the Provincial Council in the North-Eastern Province. The Varadaraja Perumal-led government, which is propped up by the IPKF, is nervous that it may be dismissed by Colombo in order to appease the Tigers. The group, which accepted the terms of the accord, is now preparing to return to arms in the face of such a prospect.

EPRLF's Varadaraja Perumal: heads the North-Eastern Provincial Council and is nervous about being dismissed by Colombo

PLOT: The Peoples Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam is a breakaway group of the LTTE that was formed by Uma Maheswaran in 1980. Maheswaran and Prabhakaran—once good buddies—fell out over the former's affair with a pretty young thing called Urmilla. Prabhakaran opposed it by arguing that "this sort of intimacy is against our code of conduct". Later, the two were engaged in a shoot-out in Madras.

PLOT was once believed to be the largest group after the LTTE and operated both in the Jaffna peninsula and the island's east. Its importance also derived from Maheswaran's close links with the M.G. Ramachandran government in Tamil Nadu. Today, however, the outfit has been marginalised—both due to poor organisation and Prabhakaran's personal animus.

ENDLF: The Eelam National Democratic Liberation Front was formed three years ago by some breakaway members of PLOT. Sri

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between the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE may be jeopardised if the IPKF cannot be prevailed upon to hold off.

Things were no better on the home front. The government was forced to declare a state of emergency to meet the growing violence engineered by the Sinhala-extremist Janata Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP). Colombo's awareness of how serious the threat had become was revealed last Saturday when over 3,000 'rebels' (read: JVP members and sympathisers) in the capital and the Southern Province were rounded up for interrogation under the new provisions, which give the army and the police unquestioned authority to make arrests and detentions.

The operation followed a 'curfew' announced by the JVP five days earlier (on 26 June), which virtually paralysed the island. The underground organisation threatened to kill anyone who ventured out of home, and Colombo—like most other cities in the south—wore a deserted look. All commercial establishments were closed and the only newspaper to appear the following day was the government-owned *Daily News*.

Meanwhile, the JVP-supported public transport workers' strike entered its third week and became a severe embarrassment to the government. The strike has seriously disrupted normal life in such far-flung cities as Colombo where no rapid transport system exists. Attendance at private commercial establishments and government offices has been dismal—in some places as low as 15 per cent. The transport ministry, which initially threatened to sack the strikers, later climbed down and continued negotiations. But no easy solution appears to be in sight with the government maintaining that it cannot meet the demands and the workers staying away—obviously preferring to risk their

Lankan intelligence believes that the group was sponsored and aided by India's Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), which helped it to operate in the north and the east to counter the intransigent LTTE.

Led by P. Rajan, the ENDLF is the junior partner in the EPRLF-led coalition government in the North-Eastern Province. Like the EPRLF, the ENDLF is crucial to India's strategy of making the Tamil Provincial Council viable and strong.

EROS' Balakumar: instrumental in preparing the ground for LTTE-Colombo talks

EROS: The Eelam Revolutionary Organisation of Students was established, oddly enough, by an elderly Marxist in London in 1975. For long, EROS was viewed as the intellectual face of Tamil militancy and sometimes dismissed as a small coterie of Britain-based beer-swilling ideologues who know more about books than bombs or bazookas.

This perception has changed somewhat of late. Although EROS is by no means a powerful outfit, its importance today derives from the fact that it is the only militant organisation which the LTTE is well disposed to. Its leader, Balakumar, is believed to have been instrumental in preparing the ground for the LTTE-Colombo talks.

TELO: The Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation is, by some accounts, the oldest militant group. It was once strong militarily and patronised by the DMK's M. Karunanidhi. However, serious infighting within the leadership undermined the TELO's strength and led to defections and breakaways.

The group's attempt to stage a recovery was thwarted when the LTTE, in mid-'86, launched a murderous campaign against it. More than 150 members were killed and its leader, Sabaratnam ('Tall Sri'), was shot dead in Jaffna. Today, the outfit is led by Selvam, who is based in the island's north.

OTHERS: It is difficult to say how many Tamil militant groups exist today, but Sri Lankan intelligence identified as many as 35 in 1985. Many of these were formed after the Sinhala chauvinist-inspired race riots in July 1983. The activities of some of them have been limited to pamphlet-distribution and poster campaigns.

Among the groups which operated a few years ago were those with fancy names, such as the Eagles Movement (EM), the Tamil Eelam Blood Movement (TEBM), the Tamil Eelam Liberation Cobras (TELC), the Guerrillas Aspiring for Tamil Eelam (GATE)—little was known about them then and even less is known about them today.

A TELO militant: serious infighting has undermined the group's strength

Negotiations currently under way between the LTTE and Colombo may be jeopardised if the IPKF cannot be prevailed upon to let up its offensive

jobs than their lives to the JVP.

The transport strike has brought Colombo port to a near standstill—a matter of grave concern for an island nation which imports everything from Rolls Royces to rice. Attendance at the port has fallen, according to government estimates, to under 50 per cent. But the real problem is the unavailability of drivers for government-owned lorries in the face of the JVP threat. Many of the ships waiting to be docked and cleared—as many as 17 on 28 June—carry food: 15,000 tonnes of rice, sugar and flour according to one estimate. The government's move to get the navy to work the port has eased the crisis somewhat and it claims that there is no cause for worry as the buffer stocks of rice and flour are sufficient to last three months. Yet, there are fears that if the present situation continues for much longer, the country could be faced with a food crisis.

The problems that Sri Lanka is facing on both fronts—at home and with India—are, of course, linked. Premadasa had the domestic situation very much in mind when he called for the withdrawal of the IPKF by July-end. By April this year, the JVP had begun posing a serious threat to the government. During March alone, a staggering 3,000 people were killed in JVP-related violence. Later, the proscribed organisation's underground leader, Rohana Wijeweera, demanded that all Indian goods be boycotted and said that the cost of disobeying the order would be 'punishment'. The 'order' is remembered even today. In Petta, Colombo's bustling market area, shopkeepers have taken all Indian goods off the shelves. Indian saris, for instance—once a very popular buy—are virtually unavailable. Only after a customer convincingly establishes his credentials is a shopkeeper willing to produce a few samples that he has hidden behind the counter. Then there was the statement asking all Indians to leave the island—a call that led all officials of the Indian high commission to take refuge in the Taj Samudra and the Galadhari Meridien, two of the many new five-star hotels on the capital's Galle Face Esplanade. There were also the 'curfews' (the JVP expression for *bandhs*) which left many parts of the south paralysed.

To Premadasa, it was clear that the JVP's appeal lay largely in its adoption of a stridently anti-India posture. It was not an unreasonable assumption as the organisation was in something of a limbo a couple of years ago. The July 1987 Indo-Sri Lankan accord and the subsequent induction of the IPKF were the catalysts for the JVP to reassert itself.

SRI LANKA

COUNTDOWN TO THE IMPASSE

1982
- India starts training Tamil guerrillas.

1983 onwards
- Tamils create havoc in north Sri Lanka.

Arms laid down by LTTE

May 1987
- Lanka launches military crackdown on LTTE and other Tamil militant groups.

4 June, 1987
- India airdrops supplies to Tamils. Sri Lanka protests.

29 July, 1987
- Rajiv Gandhi and Junius Jayewardene sign India-Sri Lanka accord. Militants agree to surrender arms.

5 August, 1987
- LTTE makes token surrender of arms.

9 August, 1987
- LTTE alleges ceasefire violations by Sri Lankan forces.

IPKF receives supplies flown in by the IAF

13 September, 1987
- Warring among Tamil militant groups.

6 October, 1987
- LTTE resumes attacks.

10 October, 1987
- IPKF says LTTE has not disarmed, launches action.

October 1987 onwards
- LTTE and India now

enemies, and IPKF mired an unwinnable war.

15 January, 1988
- LTTE chief appeals to Rajiv Gandhi to call off military offensive

Velupillai Prabhakaran

13 March, 1988
- India rejects LTTE's appeal for a ceasefire.

By asking the IPKF to go home, Premadasa was attempting, among other things, to 'hijack' the JVP campaign and pull the political carpet from beneath its feet.

From all appearances, the strategy hasn't worked—not so far at any rate. For the JVP, it appears, has simply changed tack. The 'India go home' call is not heard as often as before. As the posters which recently appeared on walls in and around Colombo testify, it has given precedence to other demands—such as the dissolution of Parliament and the holding of fresh presidential elections. In doing so, the JVP has identified its target (Premadasa) and demonstrated its ability to make a determined bid for power through its tactics of 'curfews' and terror.

The lack of a positive response, either from the JVP or the people, does not seem to have deterred Premadasa. Over the last week, he set aside developmental work in Mahiyangana now and then to make hard-hitting speeches that reiterated his resolve to see the Indian army out of the island. Government spokesmen in Colombo also made out that Sri Lanka was in no mood to withdraw the demand. The strategy appeared to be directed at embarrassing the Indians into leaving. Already, much has been made in the local press about an Amnesty International report which details the IPKF's violation of human rights in the north and east.

The government's decision to stay away from the SAARC meet demonstrated that it was willing to go international with the issue. Argued Sri Lanka's foreign minister, Ranjan Wijeratne, while explaining his country's reasons for not attending, "(SAARC's objectives) cannot be achieved unless the member states agree not to interfere in the affairs of other members or take undue advantage of their size and prominence." Hinting that Sri Lanka may also pull out of the SAARC summit to be held later this year, Wijeratne added: "We are aware of the rule in the SAARC charter that bilateral issues cannot be raised during the deliberations; so even if we do attend the meeting, we would not be able to present Sri Lanka's predicament."

By raising the 'bilateral issues' question, Sri Lanka was identifying itself with the other SAARC members who, in opposition to India, have been demanding that such matters be discussed. And if it does stay away from the summit, it would be a major setback for one of India's principal foreign policy initiatives. Unconfirmed reports have it that the Sri Lankan government is also considering raising the issue of the IPKF's presence at the United Nations and the International Court of Justice.

Almost every political party in Sri Lanka is in agreement with Premadasa over one thing: that the IPKF should go. Their differences with him arise over the manner in which he has

Deserted streets of Colombo: a JVP 'curfew' paralyses the island

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25 May, 1988

- IPKF launches offensive in the north-east.

7 June, 1988

- First phase of withdrawal of IPKF.

19 November 1988

- Election to the North-Eastern Provincial Council is held. EPRLF-ENDLF coalition forms government with Varadaraia Perumal as chief minister. LTTE does not participate.

The Indo-Sri Lankan accord is signed

Premadasa

First week of January 1989

- IPKF makes a sham withdrawal of three infantry battalions.

26 April, 1989

- IPKF withdraws some troops to appease Premadasa.

May 1989

- LTTE does deal with Premadasa.

1 June, 1989

- President Premadasa demands the withdrawal of the IPKF.

2 July, 1989

- IPKF ignores Premadasa's ultimatum and launches a major offensive against the LTTE.

An EPRLF election meeting

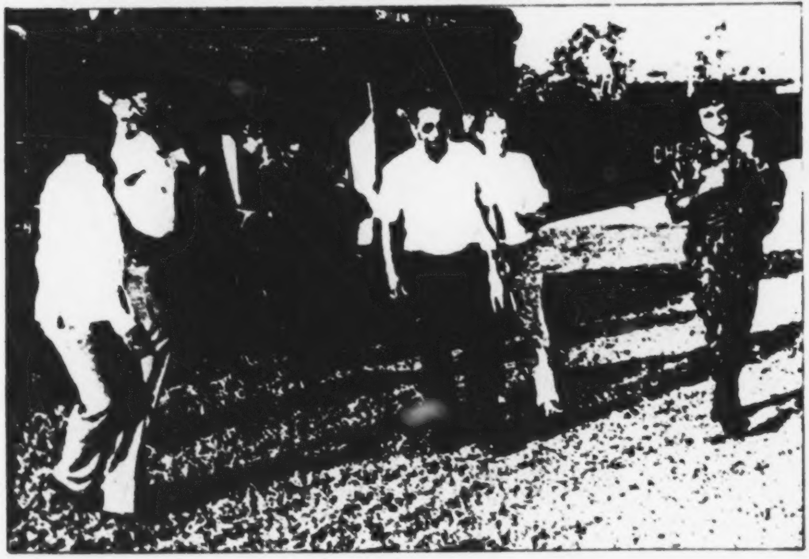
tried to force its departure and the timing of his announcement. Says Dinesh Gunawardene, MP and leader of the left-wing Mahajana Eksath Peramuna, which has opposed the IPKF's induction right from the very beginning, "We are for the withdrawal, but it is a matter that should be dealt with diplomatically." Ossie Abeygoonasekara, leader of the Sri Lanka Mahajana Party, who lost in the presidential race last year, echoes a similar view, "Our party is against the presence of any foreign troops, be they American, Russian or Indian. But the Indian army came at the invitation of the Sri Lankan government and so the question of its continued presence should have been sorted out bilaterally." Some like the moderate Tamil United Liberation Front's A. Amrithalingam warn that an IPKF pull-out at this juncture could prove disastrous. "The removal of the Indian army now will result in a bloodbath between the various Tamil groups. So, it should be asked to stay on until an alternative machinery to enforce peace is evolved." he says.

The Indian reaction to Premadasa's call was dictated, partly at least, by a sense of pique. To be summarily told to go was bad enough, but coming as it did when the Indian army was already preparing to pull out was intolerable. For Rajiv Gandhi, there was also the matter of being politically embarrassed in what is, after all, an election year. Understandably, no Prime Minister would like to face the electorate as someone who was kicked around by a tiny neighbour and a signatory to an accord that was forced to die a miserable death. His attitude to the diplomatic crisis has been questionable but consistent: India will leave only when it thinks that the accord has been satisfactorily implemented.

The result has been a diplomatic war of words over what the provisions of the accord really mean. The Indian argument for staying on hinges on one clause of the agreement, which says that "the Government of India will underwrite and guarantee the resolutions" of the accord. New Delhi has interpreted this to mean that India is obliged to see that all the provisions of the accord are implemented—particularly the one which relates to more power being devolved on the Tamil-majority areas. The suggestion is that the IPKF's presence is necessary to fulfil India's obligation of seeing the accord through.

The argument is specious, to say the least. For one, it doesn't explain why India had planned—as early as January this year—to withdraw the IPKF by the end of December. Did it have any firm guarantee that the Sri Lankan government would, by that time, implement those resolutions that it had promised to do under the accord, such as the one that relates to the devolution of power? And then, how could it be confident of fulfilling its own obligations by the end of December, such as enforcing the "cessation of hostilities" either between Colombo and the LTTE or between the

LTTE members led by A. Balasingham (centre) arrive in Colombo for talks: tactical manoeuvre



various militant groups? Secondly—and perhaps more importantly—there is nothing in the accord which links the presence of the IPKF to issues such as the devolution of power. The accord clearly states that the Indian army "may be invited by the President of Sri Lanka...if so required". Doesn't it then stand to reason that the President may withdraw the invitation whenever he wishes—that is, when the IPKF is no longer required? It would need an ingenious legal brain to establish otherwise.

It is another matter, of course, whether Premadasa could have achieved his objective with a little more tact. Why did he demand the IPKF's withdrawal when it was planning to leave anyway? To outflank the JVP may be the main reason, but not the whole answer. Premadasa had opposed the induction of the IPKF from the outset. As Prime Minister, he could hardly afford to publicly criticise President Jayewardene for entering into the accord, but he made his disapproval known by staying away from the signing ceremony. His disaffection didn't stem only from his being a 'traditional India-hater'; it had to do, in large measure, with the perfectly reasonable belief that Sri Lanka ought to sort out its internal problems on its own.

If India and Sri Lanka do not work out a face-saving solution before the end of July, relations between the two countries may cease to be at an all-time low; they may very well cease to exist

Premadasa conducted his election campaign on a manifesto that promised the withdrawal of the IPKF and, in his first speech as President, invited both the LTTE and the JVP for unconditional talks with his government. It was perhaps the first overt indication that he was prepared to deal with the domestic situation without India's mediation. Says Cabinet minister S. Thondaman, who warns against a premature IPKF withdrawal, "The President—rightly or wrongly—made the pull-out an issue in his election manifesto. He is the kind of man who has to see it through."

The Indians were alive to the prospect that the accord would be endangered in the event of Premadasa's victory. According to one theory, New Delhi knew that it would have to withdraw the moment he was elected. (Premadasa's main presidential rival, Sirimavo Bandaranaike, was also opposed to the accord and the IPKF's presence, but for reasons best known to South Block, it believed that it could make her come

"The IPKF is required"

L.L. Mehrotra, high commissioner to Sri Lanka, presents the Indian position

Lakhan Lal Mehrotra, who was appointed high commissioner to Sri Lanka on 24 April, shares nothing of his predecessor J.N. Dixit's style. Dixit seemed to thrive on controversy, loved being in the public eye and always had time for the press. Mehrotra, on the other hand, is a low-profile bureaucrat who has been somewhat press-shy. Some suggest that this may be because he is not yet completely conversant with Sri Lankan affairs. But Mehrotra was relaxed, confident and articulate when he fielded SUNDAY's questions. Excerpts from an interview:

SUNDAY: ***Is it fair to say that Indo-Sri Lankan relations are now at an all-time low?***

L.L. Mehrotra: It is difficult to comment on this. Because even in the aftermath of the India-Sri Lanka accord, a rather alarming situation had developed here. But I would say that there has been a fresh wave of tension during the last two weeks. Added to this, Sri Lanka has been facing a very difficult situation internally. In my view, the two are interconnected.

How?

The President (Premadasa) wants to meet the internal situation—that is, the challenge of the JVP. The JVP has always had an anti-India plank. The President wants to suggest that he is the one trying to send the IPKF back. He wants to divert the attention of the people somehow or the other from the internal pressures.

"Who wants to stay on? The IPKF is here to do a job. Let that entire process be implemented and then the IPKF goes. And if anybody had an earnest desire to withdraw the IPKF, it was us"

One could also argue that the President's demand that the IPKF leave has to do with the LTTE turnaround.

It is entirely possible. The LTTE has also been asking for the IPKF's withdrawal. You could say that there is a certain community of interest.

Is India justified in keeping the IPKF on? After all, there is nothing in the accord which suggests that the IPKF's presence is necessary to fulfil India's obligation of "underwriting and guaranteeing" its proposals.

No. The IPKF is here to enforce and guarantee the cessation of hostilities...

But only "if so required".

But it is required. That is why it was invited. The clause you are referring to relates to the rationale for the IPKF coming to Sri Lanka. It is true that it came at the request of the Sri Lankan government. But the accord does not lay down the procedures for the withdrawal of the IPKF. Therefore, it follows, that its withdrawal is a matter which both governments have to discuss and come to a conclusion about.

But the important fact is that the Indian government had been discussing the IPKF's withdrawal with the Sri Lankan government. Moreover, around.) It is not an implausible view. For the date on which the first batch of IPKF soldiers was withdrawn coincided with Premadasa's swearing-in as President in January this year. In India, this was widely interpreted as a token gesture to appease a President who was against the force's presence. But it is more than possible that it was a signal to indicate that India was prepared to leave.

Whatever the truth, India had other reasons for wanting to withdraw. The operation in Sri Lanka was expensive (Rs 3 crores a day, according to one estimate) and, moreover, seemed increasingly futile (the LTTE may have been losing men but they were winning popular support and sympathy). By early March, the Indians had already finalised a withdrawal plan with the Sri Lankan government and Rajiv Gandhi began telling the press that it was time to think seriously about getting the boys back home. Yet, oddly enough, the decision to pull out did not lead to a scaling down of IPKF operations. On the contrary, there was no let-up in the intensified offensive against the LTTE, which began this January.

There was a good reason for maintaining the heat. India did not want to give the impression that its army was retreating from Sri Lanka. From its point of view, it was far more 'honourable' to knock the LTTE around a bit before calling it a day. It might then have been able to argue, somewhat disingenuously, that there was no need to stay on any longer as its obligations under the accord had been fulfilled.

It was the intensified Indian offensive which gave Premadasa what he saw as a golden political opportunity. The LTTE was badly hit and needed to get the IPKF off its back. By early April, the ground was being prepared for direct negotiations with Colombo. The Tigers had come around to the view that this was the only way to keep the IPKF at arm's length.

With this, Premadasa believed he had just what he wanted—a wonderful political slogan to rally the country together. 'IPKF go home' suddenly had a magical quality about it. It could, he reckoned, prove immensely popular with the majority Sinhalas, who have always resented the presence of the Indian army; defuse the JVP campaign by stealing its most important political demand; and persuade the Tigers to function within the democratic framework.

After the conclusion of the first round of talks between his government and the LTTE in May, Premadasa was convinced that the slogan would work its three-way magic. A couple of days before the second round was slated to be held, he went public with it in his now famous 1 June speech.

There are two questions that Premadasa will have to address himself to sooner or later. What his slogan has achieved. And whether it was wise to adopt it in the circumstances. The answer to the first is precious little. The JVP has not been appeased—on the contrary, its campaign for the dissolution of the government has only intensified; the majority of the Sinhalas now believe that Premadasa's first responsibility is to check JVP violence and that therefore the IPKF's presence is necessary to 'secure the northern front' while the Sri Lankan army deals with the south; and, finally, the LTTE-Colombo talks have made no substantive progress, despite being two months old.

As for whether it was politic, the answer also appears to be in the negative. For a start, the Tiger turnaround was almost certainly a tactical manoeuvre—directed at securing the short-term objective of keeping the IPKF off its back. The LTTE has not yet formally renounced separatism and it strains the imagination to believe that it has suddenly undergone a genuine change of heart. Moreover, it is highly unlikely that Premadasa can afford, in the present circumstances, to accede to even their non-separatist demands, such as the

SHOULD THE IPKF GO HOME?

The Sri Lankans say yes, but the dispute is over when and how

A. Amrithalingam
Tamil United Liberation Front

R. Premadasa
United National Party

Ossie Abeygoonasekara
Sri Lanka Mahajana Party

"IT should be asked to stay on until an alternative to enforce peace is found."

"OUR desire is to see that the last Indian soldier leaves Sri Lanka by 29 July."

"THE question of its continued presence should have been sorted out bilaterally."

the two governments had already arrived at certain conclusions about it. And then, the foreign minister, Mr Ranjan Wijeratne, even told Parliament on 31 March that a time-frame for a withdrawal had been discussed and accepted. So, what was the (Sri Lankan government's) problem?

How do you react to President Premadasa's statement that 90 per cent of Sri Lankans want the IPKF to go as this percentage of the electorate voted for pro-pull-out candidates in the presidential election? The implicit suggestion perhaps being that the IPKF is a force of occupation because it is in Sri Lanka against the wishes of the large majority of the people.

But who wants to stay on? The IPKF is here to do a job. Let that entire process be implemented and then the IPKF goes. And if anybody had an earnest desire to withdraw the IPKF, it was us. We had already provided for this well before the Sri Lankan President began talking of withdrawal. We knew he had made such a commitment to the electorate. And we ourselves came out soon after the presidential election with a plan for withdrawal. And they were privy to this.

Interviewed by Mukund Padmanabhan/*Colombo*

permanent merger of the North and Eastern Provinces. (How would the JVP take to this?)

By proceeding on the assumption that he can persuade the Tigers to join the political mainstream, Premadasa has taken a huge gamble. The least he will have to do in order to convince them is allow them to run the North-Eastern Province. This would mean dissolving the Varadaraja Perumal-led EPRLF-ENDLF government, which, in turn, would spell other problems. The EPRLF has already indicated that it will declare 'independence' from Sri Lanka in case of such an eventuality. Moreover, it would only harden India's resolve to stay on. The EPRLF is crucial to India since it is the only pro-accord Tamil militant group with a mass base.

As things stand today, Premadasa's first priority is to find a way of meeting the JVP threat. Last Saturday's massive crackdown on the 'rebels' was an indication that he has realised this. If the JVP-supported strikes persist, then the island is in danger of slipping into chaos. Already, there are some who talk of the possibility of military rule, though, at this stage, it is a view that appears unduly alarmist. What is true, however, is that the opinions of the army and police are already beginning to be taken into account. The declaration of emergency, for instance, was made at their behest.

Premadasa's next priority is to find a way out of the impasse with India. The 1 July call—far from making him a hero with the Sinhalas—has rebounded on him and become a political embarrassment. India has turned down his every demand and responded to his call to stop fighting the LTTE by stepping up the offensive last week. It also flew in more army personnel—5,000 according to one estimate—into Trincomallee last Thursday. The hero who would rid his country of the foreign presence now appears to run the risk of being perceived as the man who tempted it into staying on.

The key is to find a face-saving solution for both sides. It is believed that consultations between India and Sri Lanka are already on to find a way to achieve this. One possibility is for India to pull out, say, two months after Premadasa's July-end deadline. India could then argue that it left only when it thought fit to do so and Premadasa could make out that he got the IPKF to leave, even if a little later than he would have liked.

If such a stratagem is not worked out before the end of July, India-Sri Lanka relations may cease to be at an all-time low; they may very well cease to exist.

Mukund Padmanabhan/*Colombo*

THE ACCORD AND ITS IMPLEMENTATION

Rajiv Gandhi has claimed that India will pull out the IPKF only if all provisions of the India-Sri Lanka accord are fulfilled. What clauses of the agreement remain to be implemented? D.B. Wijetunge, Sri Lankan Prime Minister, recently placed a statement in Parliament listing the obligations of the two countries under the accord and whether they had been put into effect or not. Excerpts from it:

OBLIGATIONS OF SRI LANKA	STATUS	REMARKS
Permit the Northern and Eastern Provinces to form one administrative unit from the date of election to Provincial Council to date of referendum.	Implemented.	—
Hold referendum in the Eastern Province on or before December 1988 to decide whether merger should continue or not.	Not implemented.	Referendum originally fixed for 31 December, 1988, has been postponed twice and is now scheduled to be held in early 1990.
Create conditions to enable all persons displaced due to ethnic violence to return to areas from where they were displaced.	Not fully implemented.	An appreciable number have still not returned.
Cessation of hostilities to come into effect within 48 hours; militant groups to surrender all arms within 72 hours of cessation of hostilities.	Not implemented.	Sri Lanka immediately stopped all military operations in north and east. Militant groups ceased hostilities, but this was only temporary. The LTTE was engaged in open hostilities against the IPKF by September 1987.
Use for law enforcement and maintenance of security the same organisations and mechanisms of government as in the rest of the country.	Being implemented.	Under the 13th Amendment and Provincial Councils Act, the same mechanisms will be used in all parts of Sri Lanka.
Make special efforts to rehabilitate militant youths.	Not implemented.	Will be done at the appropriate time.

OBLIGATIONS OF INDIA	STATUS	REMARKS
Take all steps to ensure that Indian territory is not used for activities prejudicial to the unity, integrity and security of Sri Lanka.	—	Sri Lanka expects India to have fulfilled this undertaking.
Give military assistance to Sri Lanka, when requested, to implement the agreement.	Being implemented.	On request, India sent the IPKF. Sri Lanka has now asked that the IPKF be withdrawn by 29 July, 1989.
Cooperate with Sri Lanka to ensure the physical safety and security of all communities inhabiting the north and the east.	Not fully implemented.	India has assumed this obligation almost in its entirety because Sri Lankan security forces were excluded from operations in the north and the east. The IPKF took only a token Sri Lankan police presence to assist them.

Brown imperialism doesn't pay

By Swaminathan S. Anklesaria Aiyar

IN recent centuries, imperialism has been mostly white and profitable. But it is increasingly become brown and unprofitable. The outstanding examples of this are Vietnam's misadventure in Kampuchea and Libya's excursion into Chad. Outright colonial invasion is highly unprofitable, hence rare. India practises a fairly muted form of brown imperialism, and so suffers a fairly muted degree of unprofitability. But both imperial pressure and its costs have been rising fast. We will be better off shedding our tatty ermine and learning from the Japanese and Germans that abandoning dreams of regional political glory can do a lot for your economy.

Imperialism, white or brown, usually rests on four foundations. (1) Military and economic clout. (2) The willingness to use your citizens as cannon-fodder, and to denounce dissenters as unpatriotic traitors. (3) The notion that nature abhors a political vacuum, and that you must occupy all the imperial space you can for otherwise a rival will. (4) The notion that the imperialist is doing the dominated nation a favour. The white man's burden was supposed to bring peace and prosperity to lesser breeds without the law just as India today is trying to bring peace and prosperity in Sri Lanka.

The fact that India likes to don imperial ermine does not mean that its neighbours are morally superior. Nepal and Bangladesh are autocracies. Sri Lanka is guilty of religious bigotry and racial killing. Pakistan has for most of its existence been a military dictatorship, garnished with forays into Islamic fundamentalism and communal violence. It has played the mini-imperialist itself in Afghanistan. South Asia boasts a sorry bunch of countries, and India does not stand out among them as notably sullied. However, the atrocities committed by lesser breeds without the law have never constituted a good argument for imperial intervention.

Let us consider in detail the four foundations of imperialism. First, military and financial clout. This provides a sound basis for jingoism. The word jingoism is derived from an old English jingle.

"*We don't want to fight but by jingo if we do./We've got the men, we've got the arms, we've got the money too.*"

Indians today claim that they don't really want to fight, an admiring imitation of the Englishman's supposed rectitude a century ago and as bogus. The main point is that India in the 1980s has the men, has the arms, has the money too. Not without reason does it claim to be the dominant power in South Asia. It wants this dominance to be recognised in ways that can only outrage the dominated. India believes, for instance, that it should be consulted by the United States on the permissible sort of arms that Pakistan can be given. Back in 1980 we told the Americans that we could not stomach the idea of the F-16 plane for Pakistan but could live with the F-5. To our indignation the perfidious Yanks nevertheless supplied the F-16. It never occurred to us that perhaps Pakistan should be consulted by the Soviet Union on what arms it could sell India. Such consultation is after all the prerogative of dominant powers, not lesser breeds.

Expendable lives

The second foundation of imperialism lies in the ready supply of human cannon-fodder. The United States and Britain no longer have the stomach to take large casualties. President Reagan withdrew hastily from Lebanon after the death of just 200 marines. And he simply could not persuade the US Congress to intervene in tiny Nicaragua. After Vietnam Americans cannot be easily persuaded to offer themselves as cannon-fodder. But human lives have a low value in the subcontinent. Indians do not turn a hair at the thought that many die uselessly every year on the Siachen glacier, or that more than a thousand jawans have been killed in Sri Lanka. Indeed, it is worth recalling that five years ago a Jaffna terrorist planted a bomb at Madras airport, hoping to kill a planeload of passengers to Sri Lanka. He botched the job and, instead, killed dozens of innocent Indians. Were the people of Madras outraged? Not at all. On the contrary, they hailed the terrorist as a hero. Never mind that he had killed so many innocent Indians. He could be forgiven this minor peccadillo as he had attempted the laudable feat of murdering innocent Sri Lankan passengers, even though he botched the job. Bob Dylan might ask:

"*How many deaths will it take till they learn That too many people have died?*"

The answer, my friend, is not blowing in the wind of Madras.

The third foundation of imperialism is the notion of a power vacuum. We think we must fill as much space as possible in Nepal and Bhutan. According to an official in the Prime Minister's Office, we had to go into Sri Lanka because otherwise the Americans and Pakistanis would have set up camp there. The gentleman must have known that the American public is unwilling to venture even into Nicaragua, leave alone Sri Lanka. But he preferred to pretend otherwise. Take away the concept of a power vacuum and you take away a major justification for brown imperialism.

The concept is buttressed by the kith and kin argument, the notion that a self-respecting country must come to the rescue of its kith and kin abroad. This was the excuse for the British to start the Boer War. It was the excuse for periodic Russian intervention in the Balkans. It was the excuse for right-wing Frenchmen wanting to hang on to Algeria and right-wing Englishmen to Rhodesia. India's kith and kin are scattered around many neighbouring countries. This has consequences.

The fourth foundation of imperialism is the white-man's-burden theme. Colonial Indian textbooks contained a list called "Blessings of the British Raj" which grateful students were supposed to memorise and hail. Some Englishmen never ceased to wonder why ungrateful Indians demanded independence. The Americans have heaped economic and military goodies on Latin American countries, and cannot understand why the Latinos bite the hand that feeds them. India gives a fair amount of aid to its smaller neighbours, such as Nepal, and is scandalised that the blighters hate us. Indians may kid themselves that they have been noble in aiding Nepal, that they are keeping the peace (if you can call it that) in Sri Lanka, and that they are doing a signal job in shouldering the brown man's burden in the subcontinent. The lesser breeds are not impressed.

White imperialism in its early phases brought immense loot to Europe from Latin America and India. Monopoly commercial privileges also yielded dividends. However, imperialism also involved heavy costs in armaments and battles. Giving aid to dominated nations became another cost. And losing economic opportunities because neighbours disliked you imposed a still higher cost. In the heyday of white imperialism the benefits vastly exceeded the costs, and colonial intervention was an extremely worthwhile investment. Alas, this is not true of the muted brown imperialism India is following. We have no foreign treasuries to loot, no monopoly commercial privileges to exploit. On the contrary, our neighbours deliberately curb economic ties with Big Brother. Nepal is reluctant to start hydel projects which will export electricity to India; Bangladesh will not let India build a gas pipeline from Tripura to West Bengal; Sri Lanka has banned various imports from India; and we dare not rely on Pakistan's Sui gas for meeting the energy needs of Rajasthan and Kutch although this is the most economic source. Our direct costs of armament and intervention have increased greatly.

Military glory

Why then do we persevere with such an unprofitable venture? The answer is that imperialism has always been popular through human history and has fallen into disgrace only in the last few decades, and only in some countries. Many countries still feel that no sacrifice is too great in the cause of military glory. Colonised people on liberation often turn colonialist themselves. Vietnam threw off the French and American yoke, and then promptly invaded Kampuchea, with no sense of irony. So it should not surprise us that Indians love to throw their weight about — historically people the world over have always gained a lot of satisfaction by kicking their neighbours and saying that sush kicks are in the interest of peace and prosperity in the region. Man does not live by bread alone, he likes it spiced with machismo. And in an election year it would be undemocratic to deny the common amn his ration of machismo. The problem is that others want their ration of machismo too, in Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal and Bangladesh. The resulting friction means that the cost of our jingoism could become prohibitive. We have had our fair share of machismo in the Maldives and Jaffna, and now need to pull back.

Foreign Affairs/ Parmanand

The India bogey covers up for domestic failures

NEPAL'S partially elected and partially nominated unicameral national legislature — the Rashtriya Panchayat — has concluded its debate on the royal address. Obviously, the stalemate in Indo-Nepal relations since March 23 was the main focus of the speeches made by the various members of the house. What, however, appeared rather striking was India-baiting by many members, who perhaps see their political and socio-economic future as dependent on the existing non-democratic Panchayat system.

Demands for democratisation, including the establishment of a multi-party system, a national government and institutions ensuring human rights, made by the various segments of Nepali society may have made these members apprehensive. Hence, they tried to express their solidarity with the system through their speeches by making scathing criticisms of India on various planes.

Former prime minister Lokendra Bahadur Chand (Baitadi) said: "It is natural that differences should often arise between neighbours. But this does not mean that they should stop respecting each other. The Indian media campaign against Nepal's most respected institution is condemnable. Such actions must stop immediately. Talks should be started soon to conclude treaties that are in the interests of both."

Gunjeshwari Prasad Singh (Rauthat) strongly criticised the attempts by the Indian media to cause dissension among the Nepali people by describing those living in the Terai region as of Indian origin. Hari Narayan Rajouria (Kapilavastu) regretted that the Indian government "has been trying to subject Nepalis to hardship by inundating Nepali lands on the pretext of controlling floods in India". On the other hand, Khadgajit Baral (Nawalparasi) expressed concern over the Indian government's attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of Nepal. He stated: "It should be noted that Nepal had not made any comments on the Indian government's action against the Sikhs in the Golden Temple in Punjab and on the Gorkhaland movement, as these were the internal affairs of India".

Bijaya Kunwar (Achham) said: "India's attitude towards Nepal has always been bad. India has shown its hegemonistic intentions in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka, Maldives and Nepal and creating friction with Pakistan".

King Birendra

Drona Prasad Acharya (Jhapa) warned that the Nepali people would never forgive the government if it backed down on the stand which it claimed to have adopted in the context of the current stalemate in Nepal-India relations. He demanded that Nepal seek the abrogation of all "unequal and humiliating treaties" between Nepal and India.

Padma Ratna Tuladhar (Kathmandu) said: "The present relationship between Nepal and India is unequal. All unequal treaties must, therefore, be abrogated." He also demanded a debate in the house on the 1950 Indo Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship, particularly its Articles 6 and 7, which he described as "dangerous" for Nepal. He said: "The government's foreign policy is not really based on non-alignment, for it continues to maintain a special relationship with India. For instance, no Nepali is granted a passport to visit China. How, then, can one say that we treat India and China on an equal basis? We have to be non-aligned in respect to India and China also".

Former prime minister Nagendra Prasad Rijal (Morang) said that India's present behaviour toward Nepal was "unbecoming of a friend". He asked India not to feel jealous of the "respect gained by Nepal in the world". Former foreign minister Krishna Raj Aryal (Kathmandu) accused India of bullying Nepal on the pretext of trade and transit.

However, several other members took a dispassionate view of the situation and called for dialogue and discussions to end the stalemate. For instance, former prime minister Surya Bahadur Thapa (Dhankuta) — who created a history by being the first Nepali prime minister to have been removed through a no-confidence motion in the Rashtriya Panchayat — called on Nepal and India to reach an understanding soon in order to resolve the present crisis.

In a commentary, the 'Jana Jagriti Weekly' alluded to the lesson from Sri Lanka and criticised the ruling Panchayat members for their sins of omission and commission. The weekly wrote: "Do our Panchayat politicians have the courage to act in defence of national independence the way the Sri Lankan President has done? The national independence of Nepal cannot remain safe in the hands of those who have a jaundiced view of every situation, treat the people and the non-Panchayat political forces as their enemy, disregrd the importance of public participation, indulge in corruption even during times of crisis and continue to look to India for support. The ruling Panchas, therefore, need to take a lesson from Sri Lanka".

Needless to add, there has to be a perceptible difference in the modus operandi of those who benefit from the undemocratic and unpopular political system and the dissenters within the system. But the modus operandi of the Nepali political system itself is quite baffling. On July 21, six Rashtriya Panchayat members — Birendra Kesari Pokharel, Padma Ratna Tuladhar, Somnath Pyasi, Jagriti Prasad Bhetwal, Nobul Kemi Rai and Drona Prasad Acharya — many of whom had criticised India severely during the debate on the royal address were arrested along with some top leaders of the Nepal Congress, including the supreme leader Ganesh Man Singh, women's leader Mangla Devi Singh and party president Krishna Prasad Bhattarai. They were arrested when they attempted to plant saplings as part of the government's week-long countrywide afforestation programme in Hatigada in the northern outskirts of the Kathmandu valley.

While the operators of the Panchayat system in Nepal are not willing to try and normalise relations with India, the system is not willing to allow the participation of the people even in normal socio-cultural and environmental activities. This is evident from the arrests of numerous political workers in various parts of the kingdom. The Panchayat polity is obviously moving on a confrontationist course, both internally and externally.

GUST 4, 1989

Nepalese Minister criticizes India

KATHMANDU, Aug 3. — The Nepalese Foreign Minister, Mr Shailendra Kumar Upadhyaya, said about India : "Some have, of late, forgotten the principles of the Panchsheel and have even discarded the very principles propounded by 'their own grandfathers," reports PTI.

At a function organized by Nepal-China Friendship Association to mark the 34th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, Mr Upadhyaya said China, India and Nepal developed their relations on the basis of the principles of Panchsheel.

Mr Upadhyaya left no one in doubt about the target of his attack by saying : China has always stood firm by this principle of Panchsheel.

The Foreign Minister said Nepal wanted to live in peaceful co-existence with "the country of Gandhi" as well as the country of Mao and Chou En-Lai. "But this relation cannot be established without first respecting the independence of a nation," he said.

Mr Upadhyaya said, Nepal hoped to receive the kind of friendship, goodwill and understanding shown by China from other neighbouring countries as well.

He said the construction of the "Arniko Highway" had brought China and Nepal even closer.

Political circles said that it was through this "Arniko Highway" that "hundreds of trucks carrying sophisticated Chinese arms" came to Nepal.

The Chinese Ambassador in Nepal, Mr Li Debiao, avoided any mention of India, and said China "appreciates Nepal's policy of not interfering in the recent incidents in Beijing, which was an internal affair of China".

The Nepalese Government has floated the idea of forming a "union" of all land-locked States of the world "to protect their rights".

Mr Shyam KC,the editor-in-chief of the Government-owned The Rising Nepal, has smelt a rat in the "sudden closure" of the Budge oil jetty in the Calcutta port for repair and maintenance and found a hand of the Indian Government in it to break the back-bone of Nepal and its economy.

The editor asked: "What are the land-locked countries to do if transit States resort to this kind of practice which can throw the economics of land-locked States to the winds? Isn't it high time that all land-locked States get together to protect their rights to ensure that their transit rights are not used as a political lever by transit States?"

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

India does not want to end impasse: Nepal

KATHMANDU, Aug 2 (UNI)

The Nepalese Foreign Minister, Mr Shailendra Kumar Upadhyaya told the Rashtriya Panchayat–National Parliament–on Wednesday that India did not show any interest in holding India-Nepal talks, besides its "gesture" of agreeing with the agenda.

Mr Updadhyaya was replying to a discussion raised by the former Rashtriya Panchayat chairman, Mr Rajeshwar Devkota, and the former Prime Minister, Mr Lokendra Bahadur Chand.

The Foreign Minister said Nepal was continuously trying to end the impasse as early as possible. He alleged that the Indian Government was delaying the negotiations by "keeping quiet" over the June 26 letter of the Nepalese Foreign Ministry.

Mr Upadhyaya said that Nepal would continue its effort to settle various issues on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence. Nepal was keen, he said, to strengthen the friendship and cooperation between the two countries, he said.

Meanwhile, five members of the Rashtriya Panchayat on Wednesday demanded the resignation of the Prime Minister, Mr Marich Man Shreshtha, charging him with inability to settle the trade and transit issues with India, "even after four months of impasse."

The members included the former Finance Minister, Mr Yadav Prasad Pant, and another former minister, Mr Pashupati Shamsher J. B. Rana.

Mr. Pant was also critical of the Indian Government for what he called the "sudden closure" of Calcutta port, which he said caused inconvenience to people of Nepal.

Speaking at a function organised by Nepal-China Friendship Association to mark the 34th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, Mr Upadhyaya said China, India and Nepai developed their relations on the basis of the principles of panch-sheel.

Mr Upadhyaya left no one in doubt about the target of his attack by saying: China has always stood firm by this principle of panch-sheel.

In an obvious reference to India again, Mr Upadhyaya expressed concern at, what he called, "increasing militarization in the region", and said "on the one hand, we talk about peace, while on the other, we are engaged in an arms race".

"In this context, the role played by China in promoting trust and peaceful co-existence with her neighbours, is highly admirable", he said.

Nepal changes unacceptable

HT Correspondent

NEW DELHI, Aug. 3

Union External Affairs Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao today said in the Lok Sabha that one or two amendments suggested by Nepal to the comprehensive agenda proposed by India for discussion of the entire gamut of bilateral issues were not easy to accept.

Replying to a question of Janata Party member, Syed Shahbuddin, Mr Rao said New Delhi had suggested a review of the functioning of 1950 Indo-Nepal treaty, and not a review of the treaty itself.

The Minister added that India's suggestion for a review of the operation of the treaty was based on its feeling that the implementation of the treaty had become so one-sided that it was eroding the provisions of the treaty from time to time.

Responding to a supplementary of Congress member R. L. Bhatia, the Minister accused Nepal of violating the treaty's provision regarding citizenship.

Nepal Terai residents' complaints

Express News Service

NEW DELHI, Aug 3.

People of Indian origin, staying in the Terai region of Nepal, are being discriminated against, a spokesman for the Nepal Sadbhawana parishad has said here on Thursday.

The spokesman, while affirming their faith in the King's Government, said that the Terai region has been deprived of kerosene, salt and sugar while all these commodities were freely available in the Kathmandu Valley. The result was that the price of kerosene rose to around Rs 25 a litre in the Terai, said the spokesman.

The spokesman said that arrangements should immediately be made to supply essential commodities to the Tarai area. That apart, they demanded that representatives of all communities in Nepal be hired in Government services on a proportional basis.

India has discarded Panchsheel: Nepal

From R. C. Mathur

KATHMANDU, Aug. 2

Nepalese Foreign Minister S. K. Upadhyaya, yesterday accused India of discarding the principles of 'Panchsheel' and said that "China, India and Nepal developed their relations based on the principles of 'Panchsheel' over the decades but some have of late forgotten the principles. But China has always stood firm by this principle.

He was speaking at the function hosted by Nepal-China Friendship Association to mark the 34th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Nepal and China.

The Minister said "that as a zone of peace, Nepal wants to live in peaceful co-existence with the country of Gandhi as well as the country of Mao and Chou En-lai. But this relation cannot be established without first respecting the independence of a nation."

Stating that the late King Mahendra had added a new dimension to the friendship with China after the introduction of panchayat system, Mr Upadhyaya said that the construction of the Araniko Highway had brought the two countries closer.

Expressing concern at the increasing militarisation in the region the Minister said that on the one hand we talk about peace but on the other we are engaged in arms race. In this context the role played by China in promoting trust and peaceful co-existence with her neighbours is highly admirable."

The Chinese ambassador Li Debiao observed that the formal establishment of diplomatic relations between the two ountries in 1955 had added a new chapter in the traditional friendship. Saying that the two neighbours have ever since been respecting understanding supporting and co-operating with each other the Chinese envoy said that the friendly co-operation between Nepal and China could be a good example for developing good neighbourly relations on the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence..

Kathmandu to blame, say Nepal MPs

Kathmandu, July 26 (PTI): The Rashtriya Panchayat members, during the last few days of discussion in the finance committee meeting of the commerce ministry, criticised the Nepalese government for its delay in concluding the trade and transit treaty with India in view of the hardships faced by the people.

The members blamed the hawks in the government for being oblivious to the hardships of the common people because of steep rise in the prices of essential commodities, and said "His Majesty's government does not seem to be worried about the current relations with India because nothing about this has been mentioned in the government's policies and programmes."

A member said: "A lot is being done to strain the relations with India than improve them." Another member suggested that it would be better for Nepal to conduct trade with India "on the traditional pattern."

The members maintained that the trade policy of Nepal was meaningless in the absence of a trade treaty with India.

They regretted that the farmers on the southern border were facing difficulties as they had not been able to export their produce and medicinal herbs to India.

The Rashtriya Panchayat members underlined the need for importing only essential goods through the open general licence (OGL) system without bringing in luxury goods, make proper utilisation of hard-earned foreign exchange and hold the price line.

They said Nepal's export-import trade did not fare well in the absence of trade and transit treaties with India over the last three months and that the volume of trade being carried out by the government-owned National Trading Limited was declining.

They complained that only a handful of people were controlling the country's trade. "Imposition of Customs duties on medicines and fruits on the one hand and provision of concession for import of luxury goods on the other, were not quite consistent," they added.

Trade with China urged

Three members in the Rashtriya Panchayat urged the Nepalese government to open trade points with China to reduce what they called over-dependence on India. The members are Mr Chakra Bahadur Shahi (Humla), Mr Bhupal Kiranti (Solukhumbhu) and Ms Kamala Neupane (Sunsari).

They suggested that the Nepalese government open trade points with China and enter into barter trade with it. They also demanded facilities for currency exchange with China adding there should be a long-term trade policy in the country.

Pak offers joint ventures to Nepal

Kathmandu, July 26 (PTI): Pakistan today offered various kinds of machinery, consumer products and joint ventures and technical knowhow to Nepal as fresh avenues of co-operation between the two countries.

The offer was made by the Pakistani minister of state for finance, economic affairs, planning and development, Mr Ihsanul Haq Piracha, in the opening statement at the third session of the Pakistan-Nepal joint economic commission here today. He suggested that both the countries must set up targets for bilateral trade to expand their trade relations.

Various kinds of machinery including cement and sugar plants could be supplied to Nepal on mutually acceptable terms, Mr Piracha said. Similarly, he said, there were possibilities of increasing export of textile items, essential oils and perfume, miscellaneous food products and medical instruments and appliances from Pakistan to Nepal.

"I am sure that it is possible to similarly identify items which can be imported by Pakistan from Nepal," he said.

The Pakistani minister said joint ventures with Nepal could be established on both bilateral and trilateral basis. Pakistan could provide technical know-how, machinery, raw material and semi-processed goods, whereas, capital exporting countries or international financial organisations could provide finance.

Joint ventures between Pakistan and Nepal for designing and construction of projects wherever feasible, could also include buy-back arrangements, he said.

Referring to the trade pattern between Pakistan and Nepal, Mr Piracha said the volume of two-way trade between the two countries had been varying between $0.6 million in 1984-85 and $2.5 million in 1987-88.

Mr Piracha said Pakistan gave high priority to her relations with the countries of the region. The developments in the south Asian region had always been a matter of vital concern to Pakistan, he said.

"We are, therefore, engaged in sincere and earnest efforts to resolve and avoid conflicts. We sincerely hope and desire that Nepal would soon be able to overcome its present difficulties. On our part, we assure you of all possible help and support in your efforts to overcome these problems," he said.

"We are determined to foster closer economic relations with Nepal for the mutual benefit of the people of the two countries," he added.

Nepal may ban papers, journals from India

Kathmandu, July 24 (PTI): Distributions agents here say that a list of fifty popular Indian news magazines and journals, including those for women, children and on films, has been prepared for a ban by the Nepalese government.

The magazines and journals have a large readership among the intellegentsia and politicians as well as the common folk of Nepal.

They said that the zonal administrations had summoned the distribution agents in their respective areas recently and told of the proposed ban.

Knowledgeable circles are of the view that after watching the reaction, the administration would move one step further to ban the daily newspapers from India which are very popular in Nepal, but at times unpalatable and embarrassing to those in power, because of their forthright assertions.

Indian newspapers, journals and magazines have a big sale here. There are queues every afternoon to buy them after they are censored and cleared.

Already, there is an unofficiall ban on certain news magazines and journals in the Himalayan kingdom.

Nepal ban on magazines

The Times of India News Service

KATHMANDU, July 18: Nepal today banned the entry of over 50 Indian magazines. A directive to the effect was sent to Sandeshgriha, the sole agents importing newspapers and periodicals for the Kathmandu valley.

The order has been conveyed through a government circular, copies of which have been forwarded to the postal and customs authorities for immediate action. The order covers all Indian publications, including those for children and women — "Nandan", "Chandamama", "Femina", "Eve's Weekly", "Sun", besides other magazines like "Filmfare", "Stardust", "Star and Style", "Manohar Kahaniyan", "Maya", "Indrajal" and "Amar Chitrakatha".

TRICK OF THE TRADE

Roots Of Indo-Nepalese Crisis

by MAHENDRA P. LAMA

[illegible] Treaty on Trade and Commerce [illegible] signed in 1960 and 1971 [illegible] landlocked [illegible] foreign trade. [illegible] In 1978 India [illegible] two separate treaties, trade and transit. [illegible] of unauthorised trade. This fulfilled Nepal's long-standing demand [illegible] India Government [illegible] beneficial [illegible] by the Indian Government to Indian goods exported to Nepal along with [illegible] duty and [illegible] restrictions [illegible] modities produced in Nepal.

CLAUSE

In the case of industrial products, this clause was applicable only if they contained not less than 80 per cent of Nepalese or Nepalese and Indian raw material, and to essential commodities such as cement, coal and steel supplied by India under a quota system. Nepal was accorded free, unrestricted transit facilities at Calcutta and Haldia ports, 15 routes to facilitate trade with third countries, 21 routes for trade with India and a railway link at Radhikapur for trade with Bangladesh.

These treaties were renewed from time to time till a new draft treaty on trade and transit was signed by the Commerce Secretaries of the two countries in New Delhi in October 1988. This was to have been finally signed by the two Commerce Ministers in Nepal before the expiry of the old treaty on March 23 this year. What exactly went wrong during this period is still shrouded in mystery.

But it may be pertinent to recall that immediately after Mahendra had raised the [illegible] at the non-aligned conference in Lusaka in September 1970 and the ESCAP meeting [illegible] in December, India [illegible] Nepal. The 1971 [illegible] a 'quota' [illegible] after King [illegible] India in June [illegible], and expressed his willingness to conclude a new treaty, [illegible]

The latest crisis [illegible] issues, not all of them [illegible]. They include [illegible] imposition of work [illegible] Indian workers in [illegible] purchase of a huge quantity of sophisticated arms from China which India [illegible] not needed, and the [illegible] Chinese and other foreign [illegible] on the border [illegible] commercial projects. Nepal, on its part, was perturbed at the reported mass expulsion of Nepalese from north-east India, particularly Assam and Meghalaya, India's cold response to the peace zone proposal and its military operations in Sri Lanka.

[illegible] Nepal's liberal trade policy towards countries other than India and the recent imposition of discriminatory tariff on Indian goods have led to proliferation of foreign goods in Nepal far in excess of domestic needs. In fact, Chinese aid agencies usually meet the local cost of their projects by selling consumer goods through the National Trading Corporation of Nepal. Most of these goods find their way into India, disrupting the traditional trading pattern and creating social tensions. The [illegible] open border has aggravated the problem. India considers this a [illegible] violation of the agreement to control unauthorised trade.

Nepal, on the other hand, alleges Indian collaboration in smuggling to undercut the Kingdom's increasing trade with third countries. It claims that contraband from its side of the border is much smaller in volume than the smuggling that goes on along the Indian coast and in the north-east.

Nepal's determination to slash the proportion of Nepalese or Nepalese and Indian components in industrial products exported to India grows out of its desire to use cheaper third country raw material that is available there. Kathmandu thinks this will expand its export base and ease the balance of payments. India apprehends that if the 80 per cent waiver is reduced, Nepalese products will be full of third country raw material, which may amount to giving such exemption to China or Japan.

Nepal's trade with India formed 90 per cent of its overall foreign trade in the mid-1950s; it now stands at 61 per cent, largely because of Kathmandu's policy of trade diversification in favour of third countries. But the shift away from India neither contributed anything to the Kingdom's export [illegible] nor [illegible] diversification. [illegible] list of [illegible] trading partners emerged [illegible]. Yet [illegible] Nepal's trade deficit with India rose to a staggering Rs [illegible] crores with other countries in 1986-87 [illegible]

This [illegible] forced Nepal to [illegible] huge amounts of foreign exchange as payment for Indian imports. The Nepalese rupee had to be devalued by 14.7 per cent in relation to the Indian rupee and other convertible currencies in November 1985.

The gain from this diversification policy has been psychological and political in the sense that dependence on India has been considerably reduced. Nepalese ruling circles have for long been aspiring to "independence and identity", however illusive the goals may be. The inauguration of the Kathmandu-Kodari highway had aroused hopes of flourishing trade with Tibet and China, but nothing came out of this Chinese-built "white elephant".

The total volume of trade with Tibet and China was never more than four per cent of Nepal's foreign trade. In addition, Nepal faced a trade deficit of Rs 4.94 crores in 1986-87. The nature and composition of the trade made this inevitable. Nepal remains a primary goods exporter, depending mainly on rice, forest products, oil and ghee. Only in the last few years have new items, such as carpets and readymade garments, made some impact.

Indo-Nepalese trade has never been free from stresses and strains. To meet the worldwide rise in oil prices in 1973, India discontinued the supply of petroleum products to Nepal, which could not immediately import them from third countries because the freight and handling charges were more than the production cost in India. Some accused India of using "strong arm tactics", but, clearly, the Nepalese also showed a lack of understanding and patience.

The invisible Indian invasion in all spheres of trade has been a major irritant, the garment industry being the most recent example. Kathmandu directed all manufacturers to exploit the quotas allocated by the EEC, the USA, Japan, Australia and the Soviet Union, besides liberalizing import procedures for machines. But, in the absence of indigenous skilled labour, raw material and the required technology, Indian textile manufacturers who face quotas in the West found Nepal an attractive and profitable outlet.

Kathmandu then stipulated that every factory should have 20 per cent local ownership and at least 90 per cent of its workers had to be Nepalese. The licences of those flouting this order are being cancelled. But the flood of Indian manufactures with the connivance of some industrialists and power brokers could not be stemmed, and the Kingdom came to nurture another grudge against India.

FREEDOM

Nepal wants absolute freedom in transit. The Indian stand has been that it has more than fulfilled its neighbourly obligations. Given Nepal's narrow export base and mounting trade deficit with third countries, its demand for more transit routes seem to have political overtones and is naturally resisted by India, still the Kingdom's highest bilateral aid donor.

The Indian move to go back to the pre-1978 arrangement of a single treaty on trade and transit is aimed at arresting the deflection of trade, bringing Nepal into a "centre-periphery" control [illegible] because it proposes to cut loose from India by siding with third countries. It is also expected to secure India's geopolitical and strategic interests once and for all.

ANALYSING the Indo-Nepalese crisis, Mahendra P. Lama, author of *The Economics of Indo-Nepalese Economic Cooperation: A Study on Trade, Aid and Private Investment*, says there are grievances on both sides. While Nepal wants absolute freedom in transit and more trade with third countries, India is determined to secure its geopolitical interests once and for all.

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DELHI, FRIDAY, AUGUST 4, 1989

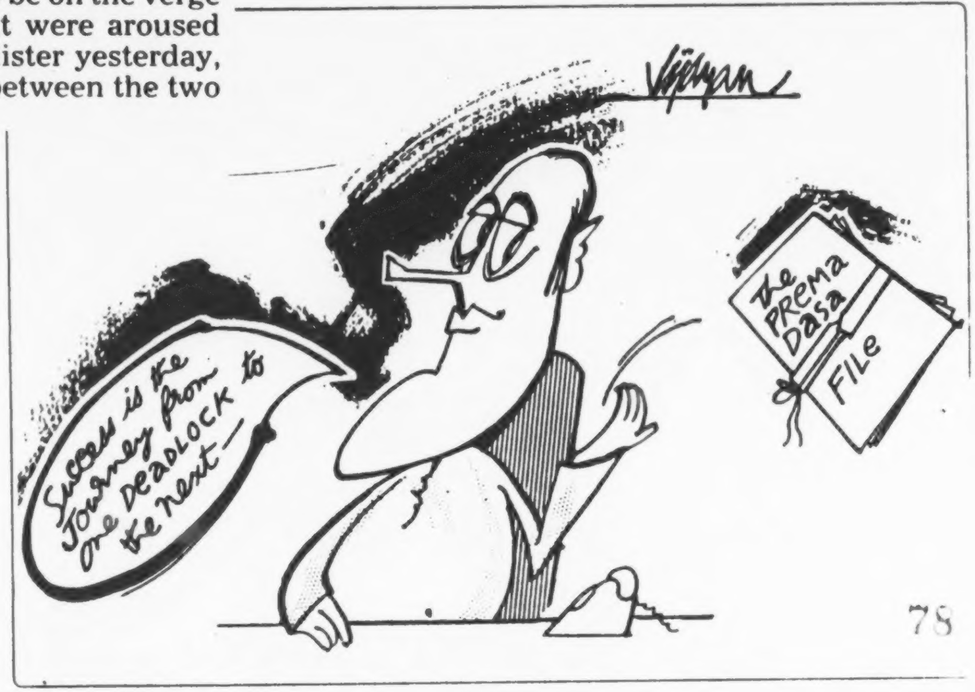
DELEGATION ASKED TO STAY BACK

Lanka turns down India's condition

Talks on verge of collapse

From Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, Thursday. — The negotiations between India and Sri Lanka over the withdrawal of the IPKF appear to be on the verge of breaking down. Although hopes of a settlement were aroused after the Sri Lankan delegation met the Prime Minister yesterday, the subsequent discussions have widened the gap between the two sides.


Success is the Journey from one DEADLOCK to the next—
the PREMA DASA FILE

600 IPKF men sail for home

India, Sri Lanka discuss time frame

TRINCOMALEE (Sri Lanka), July 29 (PTI)- The Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) in Sri Lanka today recommenced its withdrawal and 600 IPKF personnel set sail from here for Madras by INS Mahar.

Acting Sri Lankan Foreign Minister John Amaratunge, Deputy Information Minister, R Vijayasinghe, Defence Secretary, Seppala Attel and Gen Hamilton Wanesinghe and the Commander of the IPKF, Lt Gen A S Kalkat, were present to see off the first batch of the pull-out.

The returning military personnel will reach Madras tomorrow.

Meanwhile, India and Sri Lanka today began consultations on determining a time frame for the withdrawal of the IPKF from north-eastern Sri Lanka and reviewed the progress of implementation of the Indo-Sri Lanka accord, including devolution of powers to the Tamils.

The first round of talks began after the two Foreign Ministers, Mr P V Narasimha Rao and Mr Ranjan Wijeratne, exchanged views on the entire gamut of bilateral issues without aides.

Mr Vijeratne arrived at New Delhi earlier in the day from Colombo by a special flight leading a 10-member high power delegation including the Foreign Secretary, Mr Bernard Tilakratne, and the former Foreign Secretary, Mr W T Jai Singhe.

The Indian High Commissioner, Mr L L Mehrotra, and Mr Tilakratne had on Friday at Colombo signed a joint communique in the presence of President Ranasinghe Premadasa, setting at motion the recommencement of withdrawal by the IPKF and paving the way for Mr Wijeratne's visit to New Delhi.

The two sides are also scheduled to discuss the question of cessation of offensive military operations by the IPKF and the safety and security of all communities in the North-Eastern Province of Sri Lanka.

President Premadasa in a nation-wide TV broadcast had welcomed the agreement describing it as a turning point in Indo-Sri Lanka relations.

The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, who had acceeded to President Premadasa's request for the recommencement of withdrawal of the IPKF had in a message expressed the hope that it would mark the beginning of a new chapter in the relations between the two countries.

Over 150 killed in fresh violence

150 KILLED: At least 150 persons, including 34 JVP extremists were killed in Separate incidents of violence, anti-IPKF demonstrations and attack on police stations in the Sinhala majority central and southern parts of the island despite a country wide curfew now in force official sources here said.

Most of the incidents have been reported from the central province in security forces action on JVP sponsored demonstrations.

A number of security force personnel were also killed in the attack but the exact number was not revealed.

Kandy, Anuradhapura, Moneragala in central Sri Lanka were the worst affected. One incident was reported from a Sinhala settlement in Vayuviniya in North Eastern Province.

WELCOMED: Gen Deepinder Singh, former commander of the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) in Sri Lanka today welcomed the phased withdrawal of the IPKF from Sri Lanka.

Gen Singh told newsmen after receiving the Lok Shree award here that a political settlement to the Sri Lankan situation has been reached.

Protection for Tamils urged

IPKF's Withdrawal: Confusing Issues

By NARENDRA GUPTA

THE situation in Sri Lanka continues to be confused. Each of the Sri Lankan players involved seems to be tugging and pulling at the national fabric to meet parochial ends without thinking of the welfare of the island nation as a whole. The token withdrawal of the IPKF and the subsequent talks have not materially changed the situation.

President Premadasa has not fully defused the crisis even though he has given up his unilateral July 29 deadline for the withdrawal of the IPKF which, in any case, was unlikely to be complied with. There was talk, however, of Sri Lanka taking this issue to the U.N. It would be useful, therefore, to see if there was a similar situation earlier and what happened at that time.

As many would recollect, a peacekeeping force called the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) was created in 1957 and deployed on the Egyptian side of the border with Israel in Gaza and in the Sinai. This force had a large Indian army contingent with a number of Indian officers, including the commander of the force. The UNEF was instrumental in keeping the peace between the two adversaries.

In 1967, the UNEF was withdrawn in response to a request from president Nasser because it was on sovereign Egyptian soil. This decision by the U.N. secretary-general, U Thant, was opposed by many countries because they knew full well that the withdrawal of the UNEF would lead to war between the Arabs and Israelis which did take place in June 1967. During the war, the Indian component of UNEF, along with other contingents, suffered many casualties. For agreeing to this withdrawal Thant was roundly criticised by many countries. In fact, it seems even president Nasser later asked him why he had agreed to withdraw the UNEF.

Both Forces

The parallels between the UNEF in 1967 and the IPKF in 1989 are many. Both forces were deployed to keep the peace between warring groups. Both were located on another country's sovereign soil. Both were asked by the host nation's government to leave. The UNEF was withdrawn because the U.N. secretary-general took a purely legal view about the sovereign rights of the country hosting foreign forces, without taking into account the realities of the situation which were obvious to all concerned. A similar situation prevails in Sri Lanka.

Many articles in the media project the same totally legalistic view that the IPKF must withdraw from the island only because president Premadasa has said so. These columnists are not, unfortunately, taking an overall view of the situation. Just as in 1967 the withdrawal of the UNEF led to war, it has to be noted that the total withdrawal of IPKF at this juncture is likely to lead to a most horrendous bloodbath.

The indications are already there. The bloody murders of Amirthalingam, Yogeshwaran and Uma Maheshwaran by LTTE cadres leave no doubt about the LTTE's desire to decimate the other Tamil groups and seize power for themselves. The only impediment to their plans is the presence of the IPKF. The Colombo government also appears to have a similar interest in getting the IPKF out. This is because of the sentiment of the Sinhala people and the pressure from the JVP which has made the presence of the IPKF the central issue in the insurgents' campaign of violence.

The Colombo government is supportive of the LTTE demand for the IPKF withdrawal as well as for an immediate cease-fire of the IPKF operations against the LTTE. It is probably felt that the LTTE would weaken considerably in the internecine strife with the other Tamils, and the Sinhala militants or the Sri Lankan army would thereafter be able to eliminate the LTTE and achieve a final solution of the Tamil problem.

Would those taking a purely legal view about Colombo's sovereignty agree to and be a party to such a disaster? The realities of the situation need to be faced up to and addressed. It is no wonder that no major powers have had anything to say against the continued presence of the IPKF on the island. The world is aware that without the devolution of power promised to the recently formed Tamil government in the north eastern provinces, it is in no position to protect itself against either the LTTE or the Sinhalas.

Civil War

Were the IPKF to withdraw at this point of time and the Tamils declare *eelam*, as they have threatened to, the result would most likely be a civil war with a consequent refugee problem for India. What would India do then? In any case the setting up of *eelam* would not be in the interest of Sri Lanka or of India.

Sri Lankan sovereignty and the prerequisite of Sri Lankan consent for the IPKF to operate on Sri Lankan soil are not questioned by any one in India; the need to withdraw the IPKF as early as possible is also accepted. Discussions on these issues are futile. These points are to be taken as given. The real issue is how to implement these objectives with minimum bloodshed in the aftermath. Several senior members of the Sri Lankan cabinet have made their opposition to the precipate IPKF withdrawal publicly known. The Sri lankan army with its capacity fully stretched by the JVP insurgency has also made known its objections to an immediate withdrawal. It is a facile assumption that the JVP insurgency is solely motivated by the presence of the IPKF in Sri Lanka. The fact that they tried to disrupt the Sri Lankan elections although Mr Premadasa had pledged to get the IPKF withdrawn would show that the aim continues to be the overthrow of the democratic order in Sri Lanka.

The LTTE, which refused to lay down arms on the grounds that the Indian accord with Sri Lanka had not fully satisfied Tamil aspirations, cannot possibly be genuine in its dealings with the Sri Lankan government which has been unwilling over the last two years even to devolve the limited power promised to the Tamils. In these circumstances, the right question to debate is how to create the best possible conditions which will enable the IPKF to come home and to minimise, if not avoid, the massive bloodshed in the Tamil areas of Sri Lanka afterwards.

Getting into legalistic arguments while overlooking the political issues and the ground realities may do credit to lawyers but would hardly constitute statesmanship. In this context the U Thant experience still remains relevant.

(The author is with the Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses.)

37 killed in Lanka, Indian banks bombed

COLOMBO, July 26. — Suspected anti-Government militants bombed two Indian banks in the Sri Lankan capital today as violence elsewhere left at least 37 people, including 18 Indian soldiers, dead in the island, reports AFP.

In the island's east, Tamil rebels exploded a land mine under an Indian Peace-Keeping Force truck when it was passing on a highway in Trincomalee district late yesterday, killing 18 soldiers and injuring three, security sources here said.

It was the biggest such attack in recent weeks. But no further details were available and Indian diplomats declined comment. The attack was blamed on the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE).

An unknown number of men threw bombs at the State Bank of India and the Indian Bank here, causing slight damage to the buildings and injuring two employees, police and witnesses said. The two banks are within walking distance of each other.

The attacks were widely suspected to be the work of the Janatha Vimukti Peramuna (JVP)

A rocket allegedly fired by the Sri Lankan Army blasted the EPRLF office in the island's north late yesterday killing one person and injuring two, Tamil sources said. The blast hit the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) office at Kilinochchi town.

The violence came as the Government asked people to stay away from JVP-sponsored anti-Indian protests beginning today to demand the immediate withdrawal of the IPKF.

The JVP has asked Indian business and the three Indian banks here to shut down or face the consequences. Security sources said today's attack on the banks might be aimed at enforcing the threat. The bombs caused loud explosions which could be heard up to one km away.

Another explosion occurred at a building housing an Indian firm.

A Buddhist monk was shot dead by unidentified men in Kagalla district, says UNI. The bodies of five suspected rebels were found by security forces in the district.

The attacks came as the JVP called a five-day strike asking employees to attend their offices but to refrain from doing any work till Monday as part of its campaign for immediate IPKF withdrawal.

Our Special Representative reports from New Delhi: As the deadline for the IPKF pull-out set by President Ranasinghe Premadasa approaches, India is preparing itself to face any eventuality. The picture is now far from clear and there is total uncertainty as to the possible course of action that Mr Premadasa might take if the IPKF does not move out of Sri Lanka by July 29 the deadline set by him earlier.

● **On Page 6:
Editorial, Challenge in Lanka**

Lanka may go to U.N.

COLOMBO, July 26. — The Foreign Minister, Mr Ranjan Wijeratne, has called a meeting with foreign diplomats for Friday, sparking off speculation that Sri Lanka is ready to take the issue of the withdrawal of the IPKF to the U.N., diplomats said here today, reports Reuter.

"Quite what they are going to do they haven't said, but the signs are they'll take the issue to the U.N. and make a big fuss," one diplomat said.

Foreign diplomats saw no early end to the crisis.

"The Indian attitude is that they are morally right and don't care what the world says," an Asian diplomat said.

"The fact is that India and Sri Lanka have put themselves in no-win situations. Both are acting against their national interests in a manner that leaves one breathless," a Western envoy said.

"For Sri Lanka, its economy in a mess because of guerrilla wars, it is the height of folly to make an enemy out of its geatest potential source of help and its biggest potential market."

India agrees to IPKF pull-out

NEW DELHI, July 28. — The withdrawal of Indian troops from Sri Lanka begins tomorrow, according to a joint communique issued at the end of three days of talks between the Indian High Commissioner in Colombo, Mr J. L. Mehrotra, and the Sri Lankan Foreign Minister, Mr Ranjan Wijeratne.

The communique, released simultaneously in Colombo and in the capital, said that the Sri Lankan Foreign Minister would visit India to discuss the time schedule for the withdrawal of the remaining Indian Peace-Keeping Force contingent in Sri Lanka.

Mr Wijeratne is expected here tomorrow afternoon for talks with the Indian External Affairs Minister, Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao. The communication says that the talks will review the implementation of the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement. During the visit of the Sri Lankan delegation headed by Mr Wijeratne, the question of cessation of offensive military operations by the IPKF and the safety and security of all communities in the North-Eastern province of Sri Lanka will also be discussed.

Thus ended days of mounting tension following the deadline of July 29 set by the Sri Lankan President, Mr Ranasinghe Premadasa, for the withdrawal of the IPKF troops in the island. Later he set two conditions for India — accepting the President as the supreme commander of the IPKF and cessation of hostilities against the LTTE.

India has agreed to withdraw an IPKF contingent on the last day of the President's deadline presumably as a face-saving gesture for Sri Lanka. On its part, Sri Lanka has agreed to send its Foreign Minister to India for talks on not only the further withdrawals of Indian troops but on the agreement itself, the cessation of hostilities against the LTTE, which Sri Lanka is keen on, and on the safety and security of all communities in the North-eastern province about which India would like some guarantee.

An Indian Naval ship, INS Magar, is expected to call at Trincomalee tomorrow to help in the pull-out of a contingent of Indian troops. India has so far withdrawn 8,000 troops in two batches in January and in April-May. About 80,000 troops are still left behind in Sri Lanka. (According to PTI, to begin with a battalion plus troops which means approximately 1,000 soldiers, would be pulled out tomorrow).

A spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry said today the agreement with Sri Lanka on partial withdrawal and for talks should be seen as "a victory of reason, goodwill and good sense", rather than as rejection or acceptance of certain conditions. He expressed optimism about the forthcoming talks with the Sri Lankan Foreign Minister.

PTI reports from Colombo : The joint communique was signed by Mr Mehrotra, Indian High Commissioner, and Mr Bernard Tilakaratne, Sri Lanka Foreign Secretary, in the presence of President Premadasa and Mr Wijeratne this afternoon.

Mr Premadasa has described the understanding as a turning point in the relationship between the two countries. The time has come for both to forge new ties of friendship, forgetting past differences, he is quoted by Mr Mehrotra as having stated.

Mr Rajiv Gandhi has conveyed to Mr Premadasa a message saying it was the beginning of a new chapter in the history of the two countries and would strengthen the bonds of frinedship and the cultural ties.

The former Lanka President, Mr Junius Jayewardene, congratulating the High Commissioner, said he was very happy it had been sorted out amicably. It was a positive development, he observed. Mr Jayewardene rang up Mr Mehrotra soon after the communique was signed.

● **On Page 6:**
After July 29/Friends and puppets in Sri Lanka

Meanwhile, Mr Rajiv Gandhi called an urgent meeting of the Union Cabinet early today to discuss the conditions set by the Sri Lanka Government to end the deadlock between the two countries.

The state-run Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation reported that Mr Wijeratne will leave for New Delhi tomorrow by a special Air Lanka flight along with the Higher Education Minister, Mr A. C. S. Hameed, the Foreign Secretary, Mr Bernard Tilakaratne, President Premadasa's adviser on International Affairs and the Attorney-General, who are part of an eight-member team.

The USA welcomed India's decision. The State Department spokeswoman, Ms Margaret Tutwiler said this development would lead to an agreement between the two countries.

Seventy-five killed in Sri Lanka violence

COLOMBO, July 28. — More than 75 people were killed today in seperate incidents of violence and anti-IPKF demonstrations in Sri Lanka, reports PTI. The demonstrations were held in defiance of the curfew in the Sinhala-majority central and southern parts of the island, official sources here said.

Twenty-one killings were reported from Maniragala district while 16 were reported from Kandy.

Meanwhile, the country-wide curfew clamped since mid-night last night has been extended till Sunday morning.

UNI adds: Security officials said those killed include two policemen and a soldier.

Clashes were also reported from Kiribathpuluwa and Kotmale in Kandy district leaving eight demonstrators dead.

Four anti-IPKF protesters were shot dead outside Kandy railway station this morning, the officials said.

They said the two policemen were killed by rebels of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) in separate incidents in the north-western Kurunegala district, while the soldier was killed in the southern Monaragala district.

The officials said that hundreds of demonstrators defied a 35-hour nation-wide curfew imposed by the Government from midnight last night and took to the streets in Kandy, Badulla, Monaragala, Hakmana and various other places.

In Badulla, Air Force helicopters were used to drop teargas canisters to disperse violent demonstrators. Nine people participating in a public meeting at Yatiwalagala in Kandy district to protest against the IPKF presence in the island were shot dead by the forces last night.

LETTERS

India, Bully

Sir, — The so-called peace accord which India imposed on Sri Lanka as the solution to the Tamil terrorism (which India itself promoted in the first place) has only resulted in a deep division among the ethnic groups in Sri Lanka besides causing violent conflicts and further destabilisation of the island.

The Indian objective in the peace accord was to divide and rule Sri Lanka. The accord divided the Sinhalas. As a result, police and pro-government gangs are continuing to massacre anti-peace accord protesters. To protect the threatened accord, pro-Indian agents rigged the December 1988 presidential election and the February 1989 general elections in Sri Lanka, and during this period more than 4,000 Sinhalas were murdered, including 12 opposition candidates for Parliament. Attempts were made to assassinate the opposition leader, Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike, twice during this period.

The accord has also divided the Tamils. India openly armed and financed pro-accord Tamil terrorists to hunt down the LTTE terrorists opposed to the accord. Since its signing on July 29, 1987 more than 35,000 Tamils have been killed by different Tamil terrorist factions and the Indian army.

The devolution of power to the provinces, forced by India under the accord, created a highly-privileged position for the Tamils. The Tamils in the north and the east comprising only six per cent of the population, have been given nearly one-third of the island and 60 per cent of the coastline as a separate, racial "province". By granting to this "province" powers which even Indian states do not possess, India intends to weaken the Sri Lankan government. In effect, India has created a state within a state in the island.

The eastern province — one of the centres of the Sinhala civilisation, and which has never been ruled by a local Tamil king — has also been declared a Tamil province by the accord, a position which will never be accepted by the Sri Lankan people. This has sown the seeds of future conflicts between the communities.

The people of Sri Lanka were not given a fair opportunity to express their views and wishes on these vital changes affecting their sovereignty and independence. If they were, there is no doubt they would have categorically rejected the accord.

Dr CHANDRIKA IRIYAGOLLE
London.

Amirthalingam's son says:

'IPKF pullout will trigger civil war'

Express News Service

Madras, July 20: Tamil militant groups in Sri Lanka are on the brink of a civil war and only the IPKF is preventing an internecine bloodbath, assassinated TULF leader A. Amirthalingam's son Kandeepan has said.

The spectre of the violence which would be unleashed if the IPKF left, loomed large before the ordinary people of the north-east, and they were mortally afraid.

Mr. Kandeepan is in the city on his way to Benares. Mr. Amirthalingam had wished that a part of his ashes be immersed in Benares and Tamil Nadu.

In the northern province, particularly in the Jaffna peninsula, the people were under the threat of execution by the Tigers, if they voiced their opinion, he said.

Sometime ago, the LTTE had driven home its point by attacking a group of starving citizens at Moolai (in Vaddukottai, Mr. Amirthalingam's constituency), who had approached the IPKF for food. The Tigers appeared on the scene and lobbed grenades just as the hungry people had sat down to eat.

The TULF would continue as a Tamil Political force, despite the LTTE plot to wipe out the leadership.

Only the secretary-general of the party could nominate a successor to Mr. Amirthalingam in Parliament. As he too had been killed, the general council of TULF would first have to re-elect a secretary general

The Premadasa Government should establish that its conscience was clear in the Amirthalingam assassination by publishing the police investigation in the case, he demanded.

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961 IPKF casualties in Lanka

[illegible]

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Top Tamil leader gunned down

By SEEMA GUHA

The Times of India News Service

COLOMBO, July 18.

THE leader of the People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE), Mr Uma Maheswaran, was gunned down here on Sunday evening.

He was said to have been walking along a crowded road when he was shot by unidentified gunmen. According to another version, he was riding a motorcycle.

Mr Maheswaran's wife and brother identified the body, which was lying in the mortuary, this morning.

The PLOTE leader came into the limelight last year during the coup attempt in the Maldives. His group is alleged to have sent the mercenaries for the anti-Gayoom faction. He faced a lot of flak for this and had since been keeping a low profile.

Mr Maheswaran had gone to pay his last respects to the TULF leaders, Mr A. Amritalingam and Mr Yogeswaran. In fact, he was one of the Tamil leaders who carried Mr Amritalingam's coffin to the aircraft which flew the body to Batticaloa on Sunday morning. He had told friends then about his apprehension that he would be the next target.

File picture of Mr Maheswaran. — PTI

The soft-spoken Mr Uma Maheswaran, like the other Tamil leaders of his generation, was an admirer of the slain TULF chief. It was Mr Amritalingam who initiated Mr Maheswaran to the Tamil nationalist (separatist) ideology.

After that, he got together with Mr V. Prabhakaran, the LTTE supremo, in the seventies and worked closely with him.

He, however, fell out with Mr Prabhakaran, as most others did later and formed the PLOTE.

He was one of the first Tamil separatist group leaders to embrace Marxism. Ideologically, the PLOTE leadership continued to swear by Marx and Lenin. However, there was a vast gap between what the leadership preached and what its followers practised.

Mr Maheswaran, like the EPRLF, had finally reconciled to living within the framework of the Sri Lankan constitution, with autonomy for the Tamils. While supporting the Indo-Sri Lanka accord, the PLOTE had been critical of the IPKF's induction. For some time, the group was close to sections of the Sri Lankan establishment. However, after the disastrous coup attempt in the Maldives, these links had weakened.

Following the IPKF operations against the LTTE, the PLOTE, though against the Tigers, had not openly criticised the Tigers. It felt that as the LTTE was fighting a foreign army, politically it should not identify with those who supported the IPKF. During the provincial council elections in the north and east, the PLOTE kept aloof.

The PLOTE was the first Tamil group to have contacts with the Janata Vimukti Peramuna. Its leaders had participated in some of the earlier meetings of the democratic alliance by which the JVP had tried to form a broad-based opposition front. But after the coup attempt, the PLOTE kept a low profile.

New Delhi (TOINS): New Delhi is understood to be deeply disturbed over the murder as it views the incident as yet another act of violence by the LTTE.

Coming close on the heels of the assassination of the two TULF leaders, this killing appears to indicate a calculated reign of terror unleashed by the Tamil Tigers aimed at decimating their political opponents among Tamil groups.

Informed sources here hint that the ri Lanka government is not viewing hese killings with the seriousness hey deserve.

Pull-out in phases soon

The Times of India News Service

NEW DELHI, July 18: In view of President Ranasinghe Premadasa's persistent refusal to hold talks with India to decide the schedule and modalities for the withdrawal of the Indian peace-keeping force from Sri Lanka, New Delhi is going ahead on its own to get the troops back home in a phased manner.

The defence ministry is understood to have initiated the planning to identify the areas from which the IPKF will begin moving out of the island-nation.

The first contingents will leave these areas as soon as arrangements are finalised to ensure that the safety and security of the Tamil population are guaranteed.

Details regarding the arrangements were not available. The moves made by the defence ministry are in line with the message spelt out in the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi's last letter to President Premadasa. In this communication, Mr Gandhi had told the Sri Lankan President that if Colombo refused discussions on the IPKF's withdrawal schedule and on a simultaneous schedule for the implementation of the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement, India will decide the pull-out schedule unilaterally consistent with our responsibilities and obligations under the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement.

Meanwhile, it was also learnt here today that the air craft carrier Vikrant and a naval task force is likely to move from Bombay to Cochin to conduct what are being described as "routine naval exercises."

The Siachen camouflage

IT began in 1948 when Pakistan illegally occupied the area around the Siachen glacier. Since the area was uninhabited and at heights of 23,000 feet and the centre point of the conflict was the valley of Kashmir, the Indian side did not pay much attention to it. Right through the last 40 years, Pakistan has been inching towards occupying the glacier. During the Shimla round of talks which followed the 1971 war, demarcation in the Siachen glacier area was shown as beyond point NJ 9842. The primary reason for this was that in the cordial atmosphere of the Shimla Pact talks after the bitterness of the war, the Indian side was extremely accommodating since the Pakistani side repeatedly said that the area was uninhabited and of no interest to either side. However, in the early 80s, Pakistan, after having refurbished her arsenal and expanded her armed might under the dictatorship of General Zia-ul-Haq, decided to fish in troubled waters. What started it off was permission given to foreign mountaineering teams to climb the peaks in the vicinity of the glacier. India had always had the right to this area over which Pakistan encroached.

The rest is history. Since 1983 there have been casualties on both sides with the Pakistanis trying to dislodge the Indians at heights. Admittedly, the logistics of maintaining troops at that height is a nightmare, and for those who have to guard the ramparts, it is a battle against two enemies, the Pakistani troops and the elements. Be that as it may, India has always shown a spirit of accommodation in agreeing to thrash out many problems on this issue through talks without giving up its sovereignty over Siachen. Six rounds of talks at official level did not produce much but the dialogue was kept going. In the meantime, there was a change of government in Pakistan caused by the death of General Zia-ul-Haq in a plane crash.

India's stand has been that Pakistan should give up its rigid stand that the line of actual control which ends at point NJ 9842, about 30 kms. north-east of Kargil extends northwards right up to the Karakoram Pass. Most of the areas claimed by Pakistan have been under Indian control since 1947 and in all future talks it is necessary that while both sides should observe and respect 'the watershed principle', India should not in her magnanimity give away concessions about which she has had bitter experience with Pakistan in the past. There are some apologists in the country who talk of the area being barren and of no use. But they need to be reminded that nearly 30 years ago, the then Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, said in Parliament that 'not a blade of grass grows in the Aksai Chin in the north-eastern part of J & K'. But that did not prevent China from building a highway on the territory illegally occupied that belongs to India. Let that be a lesson to our negotiators and government. Negotiate, yes, but from a position of strength, keeping in view long-term strategic interests of the country.

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Do we really gain by partition

By Dr O.P. Misra

India's latest partition, a consequence of communal antagonism, seeded by vested interest politicians, has just completed four decades. The signs of socio-economic wounds were not even blurred, the thunder of another communal secessionism launched uprosing. Has Pakistan acquired so much after emerging as an Islamic nation that it can lure remaining communities in minority to trace their foot prints? Has India remained so slow in the race of its material growth that the people of minority community can not expect to come up by getting along with? The questions are not very difficult to anwer. Indeed, different communities should take lesson and guidance from the relative achievement and failure of Pakistan to determine their future course of action.

GAINS OF PARTITION TO PAKISTAN

India got only 77 per cent of the total geographical area and 73 per cent of the cultivated area but had to share 82 per cent of the total population of undivided India to support with. After partition on only 19.7 per cent of net area sown left in India whereas that of 48 per cent went to Pakistan. India lost sind and Punjab, the two food rich provinces. India shared only 55 per cent of major oilseeds, 60 per cent of cotton and 19 per cent of jute producing area of undivided India.

India acquired a relatively larger share of the urban population and also of the manufacturing industries such as jute and textile mills where as major centres producing raw jute and cotton went to east and west Pakistan respectively. Thus, indigenously developed Indian jute and cotton textile industries left with no alternative other than import of raw materials from Pakistan for their survival. Area n

for their survival. Area now occupied by Pakistan constituted a sizable market for many Indian industrial products. Large quantities of glass ceramics, cotton textile, enamel ware, foot ware etc. were marketed in areas now in Pakistan. Moreover some industries like hosiery, soap, silk and woollen textiles were also adversely affected due to partition of the country.

SUCCESS OF INDIA AND PAKISTAN

India initiated corrective measures to restablish its economy shattered by the blow of second world war and subsequent partition through planned efforts. India efficiently tackled its food problem through green revolution. It emerged as a tenth industrial power and the sixth space reaching country in the world.

In 1985, India's gross domestic saving was 22 per cent of the GDP while the same figures only 5 per cent for Pakistan. In the same way, in 1984 India's gross domestic investment figured at 24 per cent of GDP as against 17 per cent for Pakistan.

Do we

Contd from page 7

per capita food production for India for 1982-83 was 110 (taking 1974-76-100) whereas that was 104 for Pakistan. In 1984, balance of payments in current account for India was in deficit by 2429 million dollars for Pakistan (i.e. a dollars for Pakistan (i.e. a little more than double) but, the gross international reserve in 1984 for India was 8536 million dollars as against 1610 million dollars for Pakistan (i.e. more than five times greater). Describing the repercussions of Pakistan's decision to seek 800 million dollars from the IMF the reports estimate that from the next financial year Islamabad may have to pay more by way of debt servicing than it might get as foreign aid funds. And despite that; the external debt liability outstanding in 1997 would be more that 11 billion dollar. The day is approaching fast when the Pakistan's debt servicing burden reach Latin American proportions.

CONCLUSION

People of Pakistan were hoodwinked by a rosy picture painted by the creators of Pakistan. Resource reservoir has been withering way in fortifying the regimentation of martial law administrators under whose dreaded shadow the desire of individual freedom has been taking its last breath. Number of reports observe that 'recent upheavals' on the political front had caused a serious set back to the Pakistan economy and therefore the newly formal Pakistani Government may find repairing of shattered economy even more difficult than reviving democratic institutions.

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Where China has scored over India

HT Correspondent

NEW DELHI, Aug. 3

Rural inequality in China is not very different from that in India despite all the revolutionary upheavals there, according to noted economist, Dr Subramanian Swamy, MP.

But the urban sector in China exhibited impressive equity in incomes and not in the rural sector, he says in a new book, which was released by the President, Mr R. Venkataraman, today.

In terms of poverty levels, illiteracy and health, China has done decisively better than India, although the gap is not as wide as presumed, he says.

"For China, even in the mid 80s, there were 110 million very poor people and 200 million illiterates", he adds in the book titled "Economic Growth in China and India—A Prospective by Comparison".

Dr Swamy says that China and India belong to the group of "moderately growing" developing nations. But since 1992 in comparative terms, China attained a higher growth rate in national income than India, during the three decades and more of planned economic development.

The estimated growth rate for China during 1952-86 was 5.1 per cent per year and 4.0 per cent per year for India.

He says that a sectoral pattern of growth rates for the period 1952-86 as a whole shows that China is ahead of India in agricultural performance and far ahead in industrial growth (about double). Only in the service sector was India ahead.

The fact that the per capita incomes of the two countries are "so low is by itself not surprising", Dr Swamy says.

China's and India's per capita incomes are, even today, lower than Pakistan's "but one cannot, on this fact alone argue that Pakistan is more developed than the other two".

The trend in industrial growth rates in both countries was also different, Dr Swamy writes.

The Chinese industrial economy had accelerated from a high annual 8.8 per cent in 1952-65 to an even higher 11.6 per cent in 1978-86.

In India the growth rate decelerated from a modest 5.8 per cent annually to an unimpressive 3.6 per cent in the '90s.

In agriculture both experienced an acceleration in the growth rates due to investments made in modernisation, in cash crops and subsidiary agricultural activities.

He, however, observes that Indian agriculture appeared to have lost its steam in the post-1978 period when China sharply accelerated its growth by initiating economic reforms.

Describing China's investment, as "huge", Dr Swamy says that Beijing invested upto 34 per cent of the GDP for industrialisation compared to India's 25 per cent.

Dr Swamy says that because the Chinese have been relatively more inefficient in the use of resources, they could not realise a much higher rate of growth.

Mothers battle with life and rebels

KABUL, August 7 (PTI).

SHE lost a majority of her relatives either fighting for their homeland or in the rocket attacks by the mujahideen rebels.

Of her two sons, one is a soldier and the younger one is studying in school.

Middle-aged Sidiqua, slim and slick with the military cap partly covering her bobbed hair and the facial sterness conveying her will to fight with vengeance displays the agony of a woman who has lost almost all she had cherished.

Sidiqua is now a proud soldier of the women's regiment being raised in a fortified campus in a residential district here.

Although a fledgling of five months, some of the 500-odd troops of the women's regiment have already made it to the frontline near the strategic eastern city of Jalalabad; doing various jobs, from cooking food, nursing the wounded to actively participating in the war.

"We fought with the enemy. I killed at least eight of them, wounding some others", said Sidiqua, recalling her maiden venture to the frontlines in the Jalalabad sector.

"We were about 12 of us participating in the war during daytime. In the nights, we attended the medical camps", she said.

"The girls are proud of being a part of the armed forces defending their homeland. Their being on the jobs on the frontlines also works as a morale booster for the armed said Lt. Yasamin Ahmasangar, a senior officer of the women's regiment.

Besides doing the jobs of a cook, a nurse and a soldier, the girls also gathered valuable information about the enemy when sent to the frontlines, Lt. Ahmasangar said. The women soldiers, however, were being mostly used during the mopping up and search operations in Kabul and in the provinces, she said.

US & THEM: MISUNDERSTANDINGS

US AND THEM: MISUNDERSTANDINGS

India and the United States have a long history of togetherness or so I found out this summer while travelling around India. Elihu Yale shipped ice on those fast clipper ships to Madras, and some generals of Revolutionary War fame, Burgoyne and Cornwallis, recouped some lost prestige on the battlefields of India.

Our present relations seem to be a bit on the downside. America's courting of India's enemy, Pakistan, and the U.S. in naming India, along with Brazil and Japan, as unfair trading partners has not endeared us to the people or the government of India.

An interesting aside but related to relations with India. The Fulbrighters', along with all other Americans in the New Delhi area, were invited to attend a July 4th celebration at the U.S. embassy. I was disappointed, tremendously so, by the reception we received. We had to pay for each and every frank, and every cola. It couldn't have cost more than one to two thousand dollars. Our ambassador, Mr. Hubbard, a professor of history I believe at USC who had previously contributed heavily to Mr. Reagan's past campaigns, frankly could have absorbed the cost; it was mere beans to him. More disturbing to me was the smugness, the air of disdain exhibited by many of the personnel present to those not affiliated with the embassy. I wondered if this was the way the British colonialists treated the Indians (their Wogs) during the Raj.

A) Have the students collect articles on India out of newspapers over a period of time. Ask the students to judge if the writer of the news story is being objective. You could give them one of the following articles and see if they could tell the author's frame of reference.

B) See if the students can find any other ties between the U.S. and India over the years. I've included an article about U.S. soldiers in Calcutta during WW2, a little known theater of operations for our GIs.

Sale of F-16s to Pak now through

WASHINGTON, Aug. 3 (ANI)

The Bush administration today successfully scuttled a concerted move in Congress to prohibit or slash down the request for the sale of 60 F-16 fighter jets to Pakistan. The approval for the $ 1.5 billion purchase by Pakistan came despite strong opposition from some Congressmen that the US sale would "mar" improving Indo-US and Indo-Pak relations, escalate military tensions in the subcontinent, besides impeding prospects for much-needed economic development in Pakistan.

A "resolution of disapproval" in the House of Representatives sponsored by Congressman Ted Weiss, and supported by Democratic Party Congressman Stephen Solarz, aimed at limiting the number of sophisticated warplanes for Pakistan. Pakistan's supporters and the Bush administration strongly justified the sale in that it was a necessary show of US "support" (political and military) for the new "fragile' democracy in Pakistan. A senior State Department official stated, "our relations with India and Pakistan are not a zero-sum game."

Testifying before a joint House, two senior Bush administration officials made a case for Pakistan's military modernisation against India's expansion programmes, Defence Deputy Assistant Secretary for the Near East and South Asia, Arthur Hughes, dismissed Idnia's security concerns saying the sale will only "roughly maintain current force ratios (of the Pakistan air force) with the Indian Air Force."

Mr Hughes substantiated the Pakistani viewpoint that the ratio was three to one in India's favour. Pakistan's Air Force was in urgent need of US F-16S to replace nearly 170 Chinese-built F-6, technology of the 1950s being phased out by Islamabad, Mr Hughes underlined.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, NEW DELHI, FRIDAY AUGUST 4 1989

US confirms Pak helping terrorists

WASHINGTON, Aug 3 (ANI)
The Bush Administration has confirmed Pakistan's role in abetting terrorism in India. A senior State Department official today admitted in testimony before the US Congress that Pakistan has been providing "assistance" to Sikh terrorists engaged in subversive activities in India, and the process had not "ceased".

Today's remarks by the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for the Near East and South Asia, Mrs Teresita Schaffer, came as the first "outside" confirmation of the "extensive" role Pakistan played in training and arming extremists, even "helping the terrorists infiltrate" across the border into India. It is the first acknowledgment of an international awareness of Islamabad's efforts to fuel terrorist activities in India, particularly under the late President Gen Zia-ul-Haq.

Testifying before the House Asia-Pacific Foreign Affairs, Arms control and International Security Subcommittees, Mrs Schaffer told Congressman Stephen Solarz that Washington feels "the activity has significantly diminished". Solarz had questioned Pakistan's role based on India's allegations. Congressional sources said the House subcommittee had seen documented proof of "Pakistan's activities" in training and supplying arms to Sikh terrorists, the basis for Solarz's question.

Informed sources told Asian News International today that Washington has come to know of "the extent" of the efforts through elements within the Pakistan Government and military under the Gen Zia to arm terrorists, especially from Punjab. They pointed out that, after discussions on the subject between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan, there was a noticeable drop in Pakistan's activities. Schaffer testified today that Washington has made a note of steps taken by Bhutto's Government to curb these activities, even bring about a significant dimunition.

In a brief discussion after the testimony today (which focussed on the sale of 60 F-16s to Pakistan), Mrs Schaffer told ANI that "it has been our (The Bush Administration's)" impression that Pakistan had been aiding Sikh terrorists. However, the senior official emphasised that the new democratic Government had taken some measures to control the activity. Washington feels this has been made feasible through a "better understanding" between India and Pakistan of each other's concerns.

Schaffer did indicate that the problem of terrorism, as relates to India and Pakistan, was "also a communal one", and there have been allegations from both sides. Schaffer also pointed out that the situation in Punjab (Pakistan) "is a very unsettled one". It is a region where, India claims, most terrorists infiltrating into the country have been trained.

10 THE TIMES OF INDIA, NEW DELHI, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 2, 1989

Indo-U.S.relations in limbo

By GAUTAM ADHIKARI

The Times of India News Service

WASHINGTON, August 1: Lately, India's image in the US has suffered a bit. Indo-US relations, which appeared for a while to be improving steadily, can be described as being on hold for the time being.

A number of factors may be responsible for this. India's problems with Sri Lanka and Nepal are two. The US trade representative's decision to list India, alongwith Japan and Brazil, as an unfair trading nation under the provisions of the Super 301 law is another. India's successful testing of the Agni missile, with its intermediate range delivery capability, has created problems while reports about Indian-made chemicals being used by some West Asian countries for making poison gas have been presented in the media in a way that has generated further doubt about India's intentions even though it is quite apparent that Indian manufacturers of such chemicals had little idea of their possible end-use.

In the circumstances, India's public relation efforts here may have to be intensified. At the moment, the US administration, especially the state department, is still in a stage of transition. Not all appointees of the Bush administration have taken complete charge and in many areas of policymaking the situation is somewhat in limbo. But on Capitol Hill, there is a lot of activity and it is there that India recently managed to squeak past an outright Congressional censure. It was a close call indeed.

On June 29, the US House of Representatives debated the foreign aid Bill. Rep. Wally Herger, a Republican from California and a champion of causes of Californian Sikhs, who form an important part of his constituency, introduced an amendment asking Congress to reduce US economic assistance to India from $ 110 million to $ 85 million because of India's allegedly poor record on human rights. The amendment was defeated by 212 votes to 204, with 16 members abstaining.

An analysis of that voting suggests that India would need to redouble its public relation efforts on the Hill. As it is, a margin of just eight votes more in India's favour shows the seriousness of the problem. In fact, it was at the intervention of Rep. Stephen. J. Solarz, Democrat from New York and a friend of India, that a recorded vote was taken. On voice vote, the amendment had actually been passed. In a conversation with this correspondent, the speaker of the House, Mr Tom Foley, said: "I was myself surprised to see how close it was".

Mr Herger's amendment was ostensibly on the ground of human rights violations in Pubjab. But he linked it to accusations clearly designed to sway Congressmen who might not otherwise have been all that concernedd about Punjab.

Said Mr Herger: "The Indian government has not shown itself to be friend of the U.S. For example, at the United Nations, India voted against the United States position 93 per cent of the time in 1988, more than either Cuba or the Soviet Union. At the United Nations, India refused to condemn the brutal Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, or the downing of the Korean Airlines flight 007, in which a member of our own House of representatives was killed."

Mr Solarz had to intervene — and this was the only voice heard in support of India — to point out that Pakistan's voting record at the U.N. was not all that much better. "We are giving $ 600 million a year to Pakistan. They vote against us 88 per cent of the time. I do not hear any of my friends from the other side of the isle saying that, therefore, we should cut out our aid to Pakistan, which is one of the largest recipients of aid from the U.S. And I agree with them, that we should not cut aid to Pakistan. It is an important country. But so is India, which is the most populous democracy in the world and it is beginning to work with us in a number of important areas."

Mr Solarz added: "There are human rights abuses in Punjab", he said, "but I did not hear the author of the amendment say 90 to 95 per cent of them are due to Sikh extremist murdering not only Hindus, but Sikha as well."

Mr Herger threw in mentions of Nepal, Sri Lanka, India's reported nuclear weapons programme and the fact that it was leasing a nuclear submarine from the Soviet Union. Mr Solarz was the sole defender of India on these scores. All others, who chose to speak on the amendment, supported Mr Herger's move.

Among Democrats, 178 voted against the amendment and 136 for. The voting appears to have taken place broadly along liberal-conservative lines, with the liberal opposing the amendment and supporting India. Even among Democrats, most of those from the conservative south lined up with the Republicans. From the rest of the country, comprising 306 seats, only 23 Democrats voted for the amendment and 144 against. Among non-southern Republicans, the tally was 92 for the amendment and 33 against. Of 24 black members of the House, 21 voted, all for India and against the amendment. So did the eight hispanic members.

Interestingly, with the exception of Rep. Newt Gingrich, a Republican, all prominent leaders of the House — including Mr Richard Gephardt Mr Les Aspin, Mr William Grey, M Alan Broomfield and Mr Rober Michel — voted against the amendment. Of the members of the Hous foreign affairs committe, all the Democrats voted against.

Clark may replace Hubbard

From Aziz Haniffa

WASHINGTON, July 23 The State Department has recommended William Clark, Jr, 58, a career diplomat, to be the next ambassador to India but it is uncertain if the White House will nominate him.

Administration sources said several Republican stalwarts who had contributed heavily to party causes were also in the running and "it is quite plausible that the president may appoint one of them".

The ambassador's position to New Delhi is expected to fall vacant in October when Congress adjourns because current ambassador John Randolph Hubbard, whose appointment was a recess appointment by former President Ronald Reagan, has not been confirmed by the Senate.

Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman Claiborne Pell, who was quite peeved that Reagan went over the committee's head and used a presidential prerogative to appoint Hubbard, has strongly indicated that he has no intention of confirming Hubbard even if he is renominated by Bush.

Although the State Department is strongly pushing for Clark, it has a tough task, because compared to previous administrations, the Bush White House has been naming as ambassadors more political appointees with hardly any foreign policy experience than career foreign service officers. Their only qualification has been either their support for Bush, for the party or their massive fund-raising efforts.

The proliferation of political appointees has caused rumblings in Congress, so much so that Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee chairman for South Asia Senator Paul Sarbanes said recently that many of Bush's appointees have had fewer qualifications than those of other presidents.

"They have gotten to the point here where the only reason some of them are being picked is big political giving," he said, adding, "I am not a purist on this, but they have gone too far."

He said it was much worse than during the Reagan administration. "There's more of it. It's more crass."

Although Clark has the necessary credentials required of a foreign service officer slated for an important ambassadorial posting, Indophiles here are disappointed that a little-known official may end up being the next envoy to New Delhi, "particularly at such a critical phase in Indo-US relations."

State Department officials, however, strongly defended career diplomats and pointed to the success of former Ambassadors Harry Barnes and John Gunther Dean as perfect examples of "superb professionals who did an excellent job".

Although not specifically rooting for Clark, one official said, "I hope we get a truly professional guy out there."

Sources expressed frustration that career diplomats may be shunted aside to give way for political appointees.

One source compared it to the days of former President Richard Nixon "when there was a price list for embassies. You wanted Ghana it was only $200,000, but if you wanted Paris, it would cost one million."

"I wonder how much India costs? You should think it would be an expensive country," the source remarked.

By arrangement with India Abroad News Service

Times of India 7/22

Unacceptable Hypocrisy

The Indian embassy in Washington has reacted with justifiable anger to criticisms emanating from the Bush administration about India's export of so-called poison gas. Unfortunately, the state department's official spokesman, Mr Boucher, has not seen fit to reject this slur categorically. A West German chemical company was contracted by Iran to supply thionyl chloride which is used for pesticide production. It is also a component of mustard gas. After enquiries by the West German government, the company cancelled its contract with Indian suppliers and both have seen fit to pass on the buck, as it were, to India arguing that this country should have more stringent laws concerning such items, the export of which is prohibited by West Germany. This issue has been picked up in Washington as part of its purported drive to make the world free of chemical weapons.

For a number of reasons this challenge to Indian *bona fides* is disturbing and unacceptable. This country's record on the issue of non-proliferation of chemical weapons and opposition to such means of warfare is second to none. India's positive and constructive role in seeking to perfect a system of worldwide control in this matter has been commended repeatedly, even by the West. There are a number of dual-use chemicals like thionyl chloride whose purchase may be motivated by considerations unknown to the supplier. But to single out Indian laxity is really to try and bell the wrong cat. Take the accusation about Indian supply of such poison gas for use in the Iran-Iraq war. Both politically and economically, western positions on this war contrasted negatively with India's principled stand of strict neutrality and its refusal either to encourage or turn a blind eye to any efforts by Indian companies to make money out of the lucrative weapons trade. The western record in this respect was far worse. If dual-use chemicals constute a problem, and they do, the issue must be tackled in a comprehensive and equitable manner which does not single out a country like India. Indeed, a minimum condition for movement in this diction would be much greater information about the production, stockpiling and use of such chemicals in the west and much less secrecy about laboratory research with respect to militarily useful gases and chemicals. This would be to put the boot on the foot where it belongs.

Foreign Policy/ Mohan Guruswamy

We should avoid the US linkage-leverage trap

INDIA and the United States may be at two ends of the economic spectrum but they have many similarities. We are both functioning democracies where the party structures seem to have collapsed. This has led to the rise of merchandised leadership of questionable calibre. It comes as no surprise therefore, that the conduct of diplomacy between the two countries has begun to show many similarities.

For example, the Reagan administration appointed John R. Hubbard as ambassador to India against the advice of the State Department and the Congress. As a result though it has only been a few months since Hubbard has been here, a new ambassador to India is on the cards.

The appointment of the chief of the Viraat Hindu Sammelan, Karan Singh, as the Indian ambassador to the US is likewise. Hubbard may not be as well known as some of his predecessors, but he was a former president of the University of Southern California. Unfortunately, Karan Singh has no such distinction.

Since his denunciation of Indira Gandhi after her defeat in 1977 Karan Singh was kept at arms' length by her. Since the rise of Rajiv Gandhi, Karan Singh has frequently expressed his desire to "serve the nation and answer the call of duty". The marriage of his son to Madhavrao Scindia's daughter seems to have done the trick. But with the political climate here being what it is, Karan Singh would do well to tread cautiously.

Our embassies in Washington and Moscow are meant to perform vital and sensitive roles in the furtherance of our national interests. Instead, they too have become sinecures for unwanted politicians and bureaucrats. Pratap Kaul was sent to Washington because it was perceived that as cabinet secretary he was getting too close to someone who had fallen out of favour. But this was not before the eminently suited Shankar Bajpai's term was extended on the evening he was hosting his farewell dinner. Triloki Nath Kaul was sent to Moscow because he was close to the people who matter in New delhi, is yet to return despite the "appointment" of Alfred Gonsalves some months ago as the new ambassador to the Soviet Union.

Indo-US relations seem to have entered a new plane with the emphasis now more on defence technology rather than on economic and technical cooperation. The ill-conceived LCA project is one of the more prominent "goodies" the Americans are holding out to condition our international behaviour to suit their perspectives. The visit of our defence minister to the US to further the new defence technology biased relationship with that country at a time when the Prime Minister is shouting himself hoarse about the new attempt by the US to subvert the "integrity and sovereignty of the nation" via Super-301, only serves to emphasise the confusion at the top. The timing of Pant's visit as well makes one wonder if it should be taken seriously at all, just as Frank Carlucci's visit was taken lightly here. Unfortunately, Pant's visit did not merit even a few lines in any major American publication.

The "development" of the LCA at a time when IAF pilots are reportedly evaluating the new Soviet MiG-35 should make it apparent that the IAF at least is not taking the defence ministry's claim that enough LCA will be produced by 1996 very seriously. Going by the new generation of combat aircraft being developed it seems very clear that even if the Indian LCA takes off it may not be able to engage in battle all that well. The MiG-35, which should presumably be available to us on rupee payment, has been described as a counter-air fighter to take on the American F-15. The performance of the MiG-29 and SU-27 fighters on display at Farnborough last year and Paris recently should by now have removed any doubts about Soviet militancy technology. The Soviet Union, in this respect, is remarkably similar to us for they may not be able to produce a decent faucet but can use the most modern technologies purposefully for military hardware. Besides Soviet equipment have always been more cost effective.

The "defence cooperative efforts between the United States and India", even if they take some shape, are not likely to cause any changes in our relationship. The major effort of the US defence and foreign policy establishment is to lure us into a military dependent relationship. Free democracies, particularly if they are large and powerful as India is, do not respond to doctrines of linkage and leverage with their implicit reliance on arm-twisting. These methods work with the dictatorships of the generals and Shahs.

As the world's largest democracies, India and the US, have many common "points of light". These include a deep and abiding commitment to the philosophies of individual freedom and equality and the creed of democracy. The stirrings in the communist world once again bring into focus the great ideological divide of our age. This backdrop presents a great opportunity for India and the US to put their relations on a new plane.

This, of course, calls for a far-sighted leadership in both nations. For all this experience, George Bush, has shown no abilities or vision of the kind "to dream of things that never were and wonder, why not?" And as for Rajiv Gandhi has not proved much better.

The high point of Pant's visit to the US was a meeting with Vice-President Dan Quayle, though it is doubtful if Quayle found the dour and plodding and jet lagged K.C. Pant a "happy camper", which apparently is the thing to be these days!

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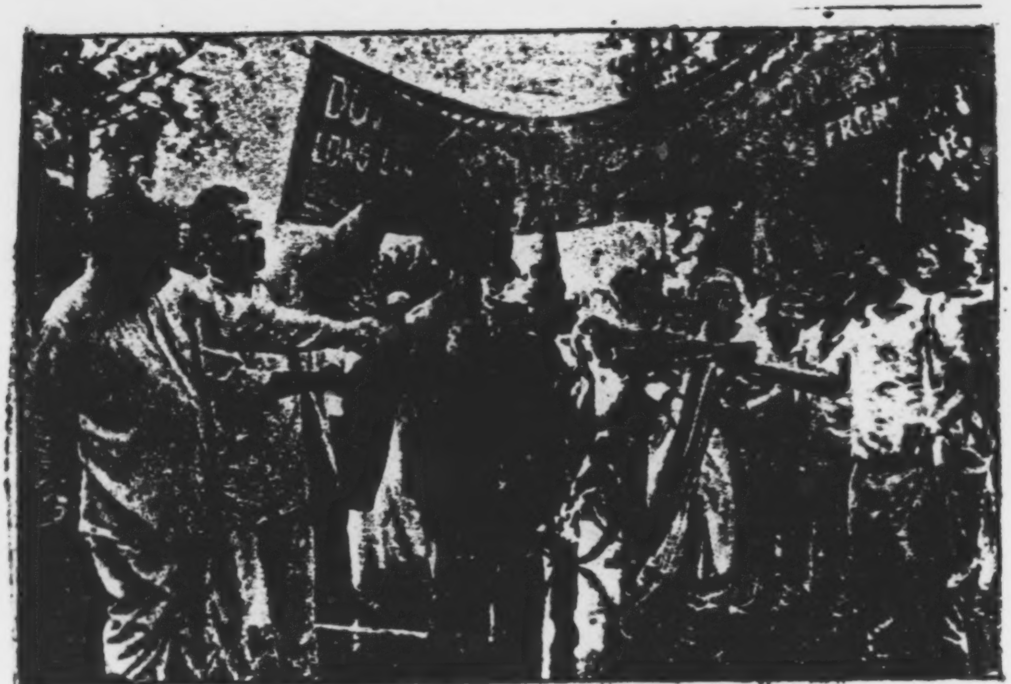
7/13/89

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

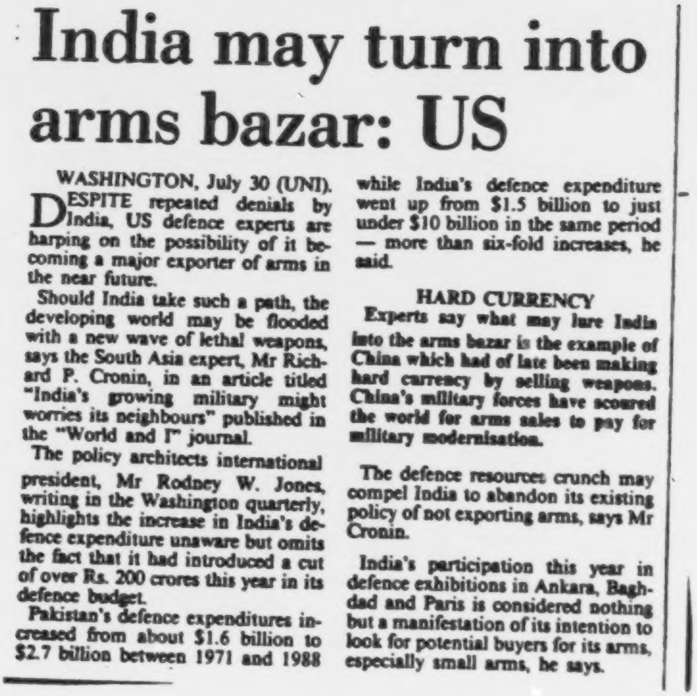
Seeing India without old blinkers

It may be out of ignorance that public opinion in the United States tends to take a distorted view of India's policies, domestic as well as foreign, but quite often the distortion is set right. The latest instance of this corrective process is the rejection by the House of Representatives of the amendment to the US Foreign Aid Bill aimed at censuring India under the pretext of "violation of human rights in Punjab". Republican Party member Wally Herger had moved the amendment calling for withholding US aid of $25 million earmarked for 1990. The three conditions which he had laid down for releasing the aid were that New Delhi should lift its economic blockade of Nepal, allow Amnesty International access to Punjab and reduce the human rights abuses in the border State. Though the amendment was defeated by 212 to 203 votes, the fact that 200 odd members voted in favour of it gives an idea of the extent of the misunderstanding about India in the US. Mr Herger accused India on various counts and many others in the House supported him. As usual it was left to Mr Stephen J. Solarz to defend India. Apart from the 'violation of human rights in Punjab' Mr Herger found fault with New Delhi for its role in Sri Lanka, its stand on Afghanistan and for its 'hostile' attitude to Nepal. In short, according to him, India is a "bully"

Obviously, the American critics of India neither know what is happening in India nor study the nuances of the Indian situation. Punjab is certainly a major problem so far as India is concerned and many unhappy developments have taken place in the State. But the Government cannot be blamed for its drive against terrorism. No country can afford to be soft to terrorists and stern action against them cannot be interpreted as violation of human rights. Similarly, New Delhi's Sri Lanka policy or its attitude towards Nepal is the reaction to certain developments in these two countries. It was at the invitation of the Sri Lankan Government that India had sent its troops to the island but throughout the crisis New Delhi has been stressing the need to preserve the territorial integrity and unity of the island republic. In Nepal, problems arose mainly on account of the short-sighted policies of the government there. New Delhi is on no account hostile to the Himalayan kingdom. If India's Afghan policy does not agree with Washington's perceptions, that is no reason why New Delhi's intentions should be suspected. The trouble is that Mr Herger and other critics refuse to comprehend the facts about India which perhaps explains their jaundiced view of this country's policies.



Members of the Indian People's Front burning an effigy of the US President, Mr George Bush, in New Delhi on Tuesday—Express photograph



India may turn into arms bazar: US

WASHINGTON, July 30 (UNI).

DESPITE repeated denials by India, US defence experts are harping on the possibility of it becoming a major exporter of arms in the near future.

Should India take such a path, the developing world may be flooded with a new wave of lethal weapons, says the South Asia expert, Mr Richard P. Cronin, in an article titled "India's growing military might worries its neighbours" published in the "World and I" journal.

The policy architects international president, Mr Rodney W. Jones, writing in the Washington quarterly, highlights the increase in India's defence expenditure unaware but omits the fact that it had introduced a cut of over Rs. 200 crores this year in its defence budget.

Pakistan's defence expenditures increased from about $1.6 billion to $2.7 billion between 1971 and 1988 while India's defence expenditure went up from $1.5 billion to just under $10 billion in the same period — more than six-fold increases, he said.

HARD CURRENCY

Experts say what may lure India into the arms bazar is the example of China which had of late been making hard currency by selling weapons. China's military forces have scoured the world for arms sales to pay for military modernisation.

The defence resources crunch may compel India to abandon its existing policy of not exporting arms, says Mr Cronin.

India's participation this year in defence exhibitions in Ankara, Baghdad and Paris is considered nothing but a manifestation of its intention to look for potential buyers for its arms, especially small arms, he says.

NOW AND AGAIN

STARS AND STRIPES CALCUTTA

By JACK DANTES

OUTSIDE our classrooms, history was being shot to hell. The Dutch East Indies had fallen to the Japs. Then Singapore. Then Burma. It was the giddy limit. Who did the Japs think they were, sinking unsinkable British aircraft carriers, chasing British troops out of a tropical empire made famous by Somerset Maugham?

It was 1942. Calcutta was next.

LANDMARK

Up went the baffle walls. Out went the lights. The magnificent white marble dome of the Victoria Memorial disappeared under a coat of black paint to deprive Japanese bombers of a landmark. It took years before the bombers were heard at all. We got plenty of practice air-raid warnings, with sirens and all. It was not till the Christmas of 1943 that Japanese bombers came right up to the Kidderpore docks and let go a couple of dull thumps. If anybody was killed, it was a well-kept military secret. Nothing like the London blitz; real disappointment.

By then our streets were crawling with military trucks. Add to this the invasion of 20,000 American troops stationed in the numerous camps in and around Calcutta. Picturesque names — the camp at the Calcutta Race Course was called Camp Hialeah after the New York race-track. There was a Camp Knox. They even built a small stadium for 3,000 called Monsoon Square Garden. There was a difference to everything they did. Their dashing gabardine khaki uniforms simply outdazzled the dowdy khaki of the British Other Ranks, or BOR.

Red Road, that lovely strip of macadam, a driveway stretching through the green expanse of the Calcutta Maidan all the way from the Victoria Memorial, was now being used as a runway for RAF Hurricanes. We saw many a Hurricane take off for Burma. On one sensational moonlight night a British pilot called Pringle borrowed a Hurricane in a hurry and shot down three Japanese fighters in a 10-second blast over the Hooghly River at the very lip of Calcutta. We all wanted to join the RAF the next day.

Our loyalties were shortlived. In no time we were won over by the Americans who were "overpaid, oversexed and over here". Calcutta never had it so good. American G.I.s won thousands of friends with their subsidized supermarket goods — the giant hamburgers, chocolates and chewing gum, the Lucky Strikes and Chesterfields, cokes and the movies that would appear five years later in Indian cinemas.

There was hardly a British soldier in sight. They were all busy fighting their war in Burma with Errol Flynn. The G.I.s were fighting their way into the toughest night spots in Calcutta — Casanovas, Puerto Rico, Victory Club, Clem Browne, Mayfair — names that have now disappeared with the last days of Pompei. Those were deadly wars between white Americans and "coloureds" (black was not a beautiful word those days; it was a slap in the face).

The Americans had made an early hit with the Calcutta public by introducing one afternoon a kind of sports carnival of American games at the C.C. & F.C. ground. The whole of Calcutta was invited to the event through a personal column advertisement with the added incentive of "free refreshments." The whole of Calcutta queued up for free hot dogs and cokes; queued up twice.

The other three million couldn't read English. The highlight of the evening was the great Ben Hur chariot race — 20 rickshaws in a race hauled by lustful G.I.s with the prettiest female passengers in the world. All this in anticipation of winning the war. And how right they were.

Of course, the G.I. lifestyle had all sorts of traumatic effects on the local populace. They would drag a frightened shoeshine urchin into Firpo's or the Great Eastern for lunch; the poshest place in town. So posh you never saw a cockroach or, at least, nothing less than a British colonel or brigadier. Democracy was a terrifying experience for our shoeshine ragamuffins. They choked on the soufflé.

The American Government certainly looked after its own. The G.I. whose salary was four times that of the poor BOR, enjoyed facilities undreamt of by anybody in or out of uniforms. (The BOR was traditionally a soldier of misfortune. It was Wellington who said of his victorious army at Waterloo, "Scum of the earth, enlisted for drink". Grateful bastard.)

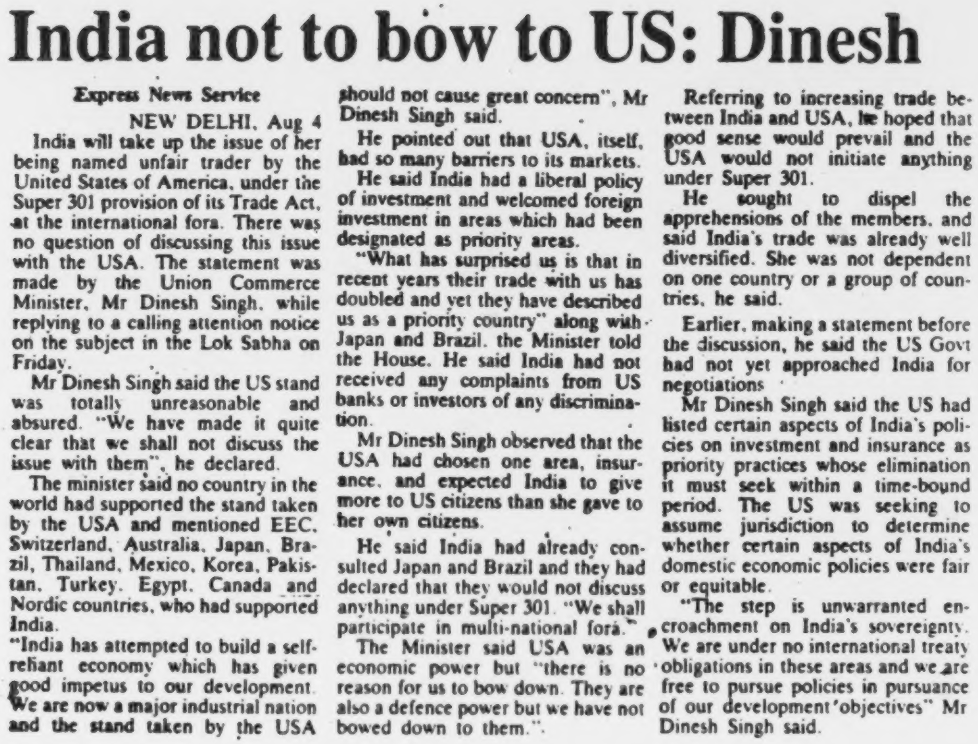
The G.I.'s daily camp routine included free movies, horse-riding picnics, local package tours, sports, visiting celebrities and stage shows. Daily routine. A lot of these G.I.s never had it so good in their entire lives — past or future. Many were convicts working out their ticket to freedom. When the Japanese heard the way the Americans were living it up in Calcutta, they were completely demoralized over their measly rations enjoyed in the fork of mosquito-ridden trees in the middle of a Wingate-infested jungle. It was the G.I. lifestyle that really saved Calcutta, that really won the war.

Calcutta during the war was totally American. We got used to their tribal customs and clubs. There was the Cosmos Club for "coloureds" only located where now stands the Telephone Bhavan at Dalhousie Square. In the afternoon, they served iced lemon tea. I was often a guest, being interested in their local boxing stars and enjoyed ogling some of their glamorous "coloured" girls. All told, they were a much more charming race with an inimitable grace of their own. I am not colour prejudiced; some of my best friends are "whiteys".

GOODWILL

After the war was over, the G.I.s were impatient to get home. They started drinking too much. Normally reckless drivers, they were now careless, knocking down pedestrians. And when they killed somebody they didn't wait. Until, of course, our Indian mobs woke up and started burning G.I.s alive in their trucks and jeeps indiscriminately. The Americans learnt their road manners pronto, but they lost a lot of goodwill.

Came 1946 and the last of the American troops had disappeared. Calcutta was stripped bare for the next war — the Quit India campaign.



India not to bow to US: Dinesh

Express News Service

NEW DELHI, Aug 4

India will take up the issue of her being named unfair trader by the United States of America, under the Super 301 provision of its Trade Act, at the international fora. There was no question of discussing this issue with the USA. The statement was made by the Union Commerce Minister, Mr Dinesh Singh, while replying to a calling attention notice on the subject in the Lok Sabha on Friday.

Mr Dinesh Singh said the US stand was totally unreasonable and absured. "We have made it quite clear that we shall not discuss the issue with them", he declared.

The minister said no country in the world had supported the stand taken by the USA and mentioned EEC, Switzerland, Australia, Japan, Brazil, Thailand, Mexico, Korea, Pakistan, Turkey, Egypt, Canada and Nordic countries, who had supported India.

"India has attempted to build a self-reliant economy which has given good impetus to our development. We are now a major industrial nation and the stand taken by the USA should not cause great concern", Mr Dinesh Singh said.

He pointed out that USA, itself, had so many barriers to its markets.

He said India had a liberal policy of investment and welcomed foreign investment in areas which had been designated as priority areas.

"What has surprised us is that in recent years their trade with us has doubled and yet they have described us as a priority country" along with Japan and Brazil, the Minister told the House. He said India had not received any complaints from US banks or investors of any discrimination.

Mr Dinesh Singh observed that the USA had chosen one area, insurance, and expected India to give more to US citizens than she gave to her own citizens.

He said India had already consulted Japan and Brazil and they had declared that they would not discuss anything under Super 301. "We shall participate in multi-national forá."

The Minister said USA was an economic power but "there is no reason for us to bow down. They are also a defence power but we have not bowed down to them.".

Referring to increasing trade between India and USA, he hoped that good sense would prevail and the USA would not initiate anything under Super 301.

He sought to dispel the apprehensions of the members, and said India's trade was already well diversified. She was not dependent on one country or a group of countries, he said.

Earlier, making a statement before the discussion, he said the US Govt had not yet approached India for negotiations

Mr Dinesh Singh said the US had listed certain aspects of India's policies on investment and insurance as priority practices whose elimination it must seek within a time-bound period. The US was seeking to assume jurisdiction to determine whether certain aspects of India's domestic economic policies were fair or equitable.

"The step is unwarranted encroachment on India's sovereignty. We are under no international treaty obligations in these areas and we are free to pursue policies in pursuance of our development objectives" Mr Dinesh Singh said.

THOSE MONSOON SHOWERS

MAY COME YOUR WAY

"Hey, congratulations. When are you going to India?"

"Oh, this July and August."

"That's too bad."

"Why?"

"That's the monsoon season. It's hot, humid with lots of rain."

With those condolences and others from my students and knowledgeable friends, I was off to India apologizing for my trip being in July. You know, us teachers can only travel in the north latitudes unless we want a double dose of winter. My other lament was I couldn't look the federal gift horse in the mouth and say sorry it's the rainy season; I'll go in the fall.

Much to my happy surprize and delight, we had rain only six days of my forty-two days; and those had little impact in my studies, visits, or sightseeing. Shiva looked after me, for it fell at night or when indoor activities were planned. By all accounts my home on Long Island had the Indian monsoons - a small, wet payback to my gloom and doom friends.

I was walking Connaught Circle looking for cassettes of Indian music when I had my first experience with a Delhi downpour. What had been a hazy, hot, overcast day suddenly turned gray then brownish with the light breezes picking up markedly, beginning to swirl. Papers and dust were being blown around in mini-cyclones. It was becoming difficult to walk, to breathe, and to move. I ducked into a store just before the rains came - a windswept downpour of some thirty minutes duration. Many of those people outside, stayed outside continuing on their journey as if impervious to the event.

The monsoon is so important to India; it's her lifeblood, for it nourishes the soil and thus the soul of the Indian civilization. I've been accused of being a bit to preoccupied with my own local weather, and that's probably true. But India, as a nation, is preoccupied with this weather phenomenon. TV reports daily cover the rainfall nationwide, newspaper columns are devoted to the centimeters fallen to date. It's a mixed blessing and has been since time immemorial. Too little rain produces a drought with all its socio-economic implications, too much rain produces floods with its share of additional miseries.

The articles range from the lovely editorials on the following page, to rainfall maps, a poem, and tales of floods.

1) Have your students obtain a weather map of the United States, and see if they can explain what is happening in various places. And, what would the impact be on the people of that area.

2) Summer floods in India are like U.S. floods when the snow melts?? Floods - have the students read the articles on the floods, and then do some role playing (a person who has lost a family member, a home, a boat, etc.).

3) Obtain a climate or rainfall map of India, and by location have the students describe the impact on someone who lives in Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Bihar, Tamil Nadu.

4) Insurance is a western phenomenon, may be even more American than European. So, we have flood insurance. Read some of the articles contained "They Were Swept to Death in Sleep," "Long Trail of Destruction."

Rain song

By Malati Jaikumar

THE weather pundits may quibble over the terminology and waver about calling it a coludburst, a pre-monsoon shower or a low pressure disturbances. But for a plain and simple rain-crazy Indian like me, rain is just rain–often a welcome relief, always a symphony of sounds, smells and sensations, to be felt and savoured.

A thunder-shower is a well-orchestrated piece of nature's music, the movements clear and well defined, gradually progressing step by rhythmic step, leading unhurriedly up to a climax and tapering off to a silence full of deep contentment.

Like the darkening of a concert hall before the programme begins, the first sign is the darkening of the sky and the hushed silence, broken only by bird calls–the joyful call of the peacock full of anticipation and yearning or the nervous twitter of smaller birds loath to get their feathers wet.

The opening notes of the breezy overture tug at sarees, billow skirts, ruffle hair and toss up dry leaves. It is a teasing, pleasurable breeze, its passion reined in, held in check to beguile the unwary. Then in a sudden swift surge of power, the flirtation gives way to passion and fury as the wind wailing like a banshee bends the boughs, bangs doors and windows, knocks down cycles, and scuttles dust and scraps of paper in mini tornadoes.

The orchestra now becomes more strident, deafening. One feels insignificant in the face of such unleashed power but also a sense of awe and pride for being part of nature. The brilliance of the lightning slashing through the skies followed a split second later by the clap of thunder emphatically punctuates the unceasing moaning of the wind. Just as suddenly, all the sound and fury stops, giving way to a shattering silence. Only the untutored would dare to mistake this pause for the end and break the golden silence, a silence full of promise.

The symphony moves on again, softly slowly as the first rain drops splatter down–large and far apart. The staccato music slowly gathers pace, the drops growing smaller, faster and closer together, pelting down, rising to a crescendo and merging into one single song–the rain song. Rain, pouring down in sheets, in torrents, dashing against the walls, trickling noisily down window panes, dripping over ledges, swishing down drains, collecting into puddles, gurgling down rain pipes, and drumming on roof tops in a rhapsody of tunes, each different yet all blending harmoniously.

That is when I long to rush out, to dance in the rain, get soaking wet, exhilarated by the cool shower after long weeks of hot and humid waiting. Yet all too soon the music grinds to a halt.

The quiet after the rain storm is a peaceful quiet, with the heart and spirit fresh – washed and glistening as the rain-washed roads and leaves. The mellow sun peeps out tentatively and then gathers courage to shine forth persuading the sheltering birds to strut out and ruffle their damp feathers. And as the colour stains the sky in a perfect hosanna of an arc it feels good to be alive, inhaling the heady fragrance of damp earth and rain-drenched grass. The concert is over but the melody haunts the heart.

Monsoon musings

NITI PAUL MEHTA

THE clouds were not black, thick or menacing. They did not threaten rain. In fact the sky looked grey like drizzle. But suddenly, the rain came cascading down and unsuspecting people ran helter-shelter to seek shelter.

You can never say for certain about the first monsoon rain. It can be a downpour or a mere passing shower, a steady soaking drizzle or just a few scattered raindrops which, instead of cooling, make the earth even more thirsty, adding humidity to the heat.

But whatever its intensity, the scent rising from the rain-hit earth brings the pleasant message of the coming rains.

Almost every language has a rich rain-inspired literature which captures the various moods of rain and their effect on the people. There are also some very interesting proverbs which have survived for centuries because of the people's faith in them.

An interesting English proverb is: "Rain before seven; fine before eleven." Who wouldn't welcome such a rain-spell - neither too long nor too short! The Spectator of March 20, 1909 hailed it as "one of the most trustworthy of all country saws."

In our own country, especially in the North, it is widely believed that if it starts raining on a Thursday morning it'll continue raining for full seven days.

There's another belief which is as widely prevalent. When after daylong rain it clears up and the sun comes up towards the close of the day, be sure it's going to be cloudy again the next day.

Rain, when it is timely, is a boon but if it fails to arrive on time, it can spell misery. An English saying points to this: "If in February there is no rain, "it's neither good for hay nor for grain."

Proverbs contain great wisdom. They come handy in emphasising or proving a point. When they do neither they make conversation lively. Even when they do nothing else, they make things clear. They are always enjoyable. Take this very common saying" "It never rains but it pours." Trollop used it in a dialogue in Barchester Towers like this: "A wife with a large fortune too. It never rains but it pours, does it Mr Thorne." It is mostly used, though "sometimes archaically, to introduce an inevitable accompanying circumstance."

There is sometimes unseasonal rain when some good person dies. The belief is that Indra, the rain god, weeps on the death of a noble person. The English also have a saying with a similar meaning: "Blessed are the dead that the rain rains on."

There is one common sight in Punjab. When the first rain of the season falls, children rush out into the streets. They splash water and sing: "Send rain, O Lord! Send rain, send still more rain; let it be a downpour, for the heat has burnt the bricks and stones to cinders. O Lord, send us heavy rain."

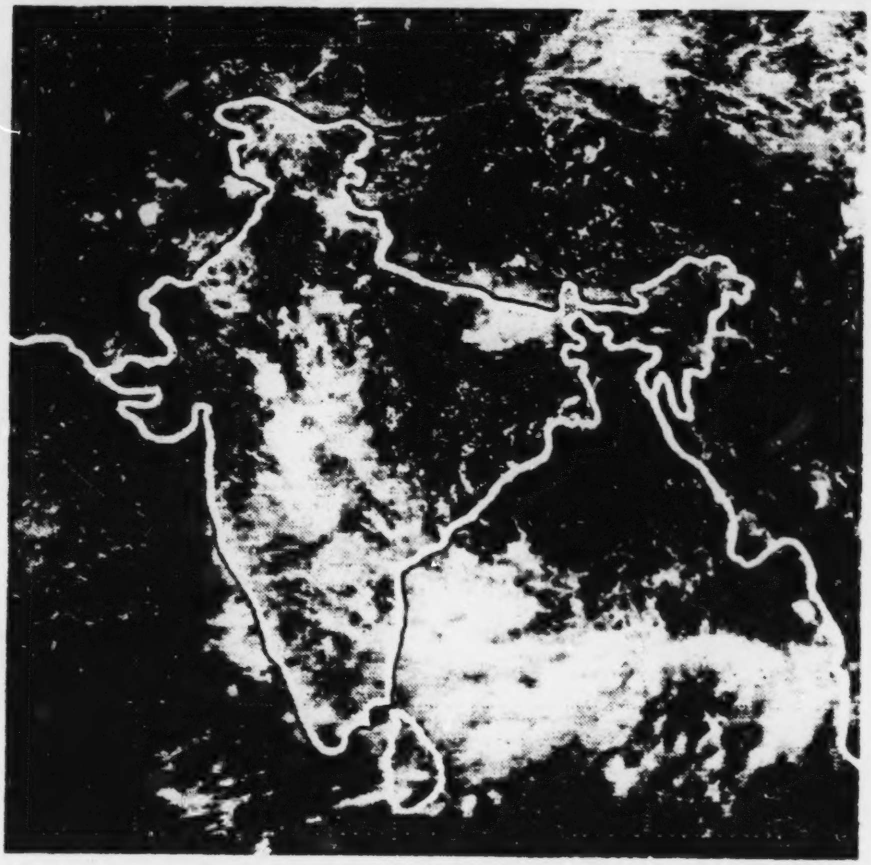
A similar song is also sung in UP. It says: "Barso Ram dharake se, budhiya margai fakese." (O Lord, send heavy rain. End this drought. An old woman has already died of starvation.)

The Bible says: "He maketh His sun rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust." But Lord Bowen, a 19th century English poet quips:

The rain it raineth on the just
And also on the unjust fella:
But chiefly on the just, because
The unjust steals the just's umbrella.

'Cheers!" to the short spell of showers that brought fleeting relief to the Capital on Tuesday afternoon, says the imitation Air-India maharaja. Or so it seems. — The Statesman.

Palmer



Insat 1-B picture taken at 11-30 a.m. on Friday shows thick clouds over the peninsula.

Widespread rain in A.P.

From Our Staff Reporter

HYDERABAD, July 21

The South West Monsoon was "vigorous" over coastal Andhra Pradesh and Telengana with rainfall also reported from some places in Rayalaseema region today. Huzurabad (Karimnagar District) recorded 14 cm of rain, Cheepurupalli(Vizianagaram dist) 13 cm and Hanamkonda(Warangal dist) 12 cm during the 24 hours ended Friday morning.

According to the Acting Director of the Hyderabad Meteorological Centre, Mr N. Pandarinath, the wide-spread rainfall in the State has been caused by a well-marked low pressure system in the Bay of Bengal, located off the Andhra Pradesh coast.

A weather bulletin issued by the Meteorological Centre gave the other Chief amounts of rainfall in the State as follows: Eturunagaram nine cm, Nandigama, Guntur, Dummagudem and Medak, eight cm each, Nizamsagar and Udayagiri seven cm each, Hyderabad Airport, Kaleswaram, Sangareddi, Perur and Tenali six cm each, Sattenapalli, Karimangar, Hakimpet, Suryapet and Nirmal five cm each.

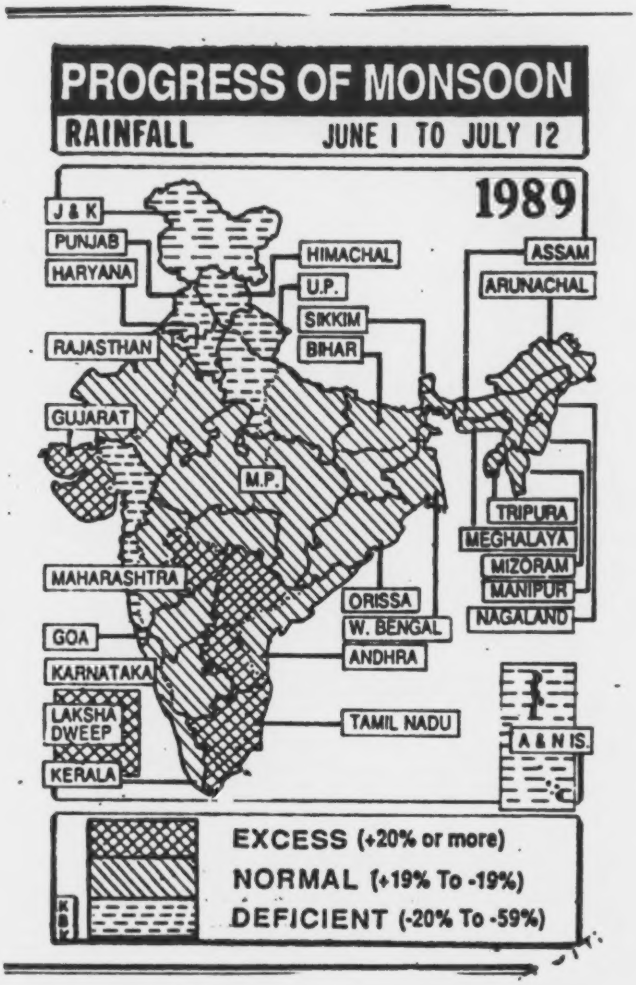
The forecast valid till Sunday morning says that moderate to rather heavy rain will occur at many places over coastal Andhra Pradesh and Telengana. Light to moderate rain will occur at many places over Rayalaseema. Very heavy rain is likely at one or two places in the Telengana area.

VISAKHAPATNAM: According to a spokesman of the Cyclone Warning Centre, Visakhapatnam the low pressure area lying over the west central Bay of Bengal is likely to intensify further and move in north-westerly direction.

MADRAS: According to the weather office in Madras there will be scattered rainfall over north Tamil Nadu and isolated rainfall in south Tamil Nadu during the next 24 hours.

BANGALORE: Rainfal occurred at almost all places over coastal Karnataka and south interior Karnataka and at many places over north interior Karnataka. Heavy rainfall amounts (in cm) Madikeri 9, Sulya 8, Agumbe 7. The other amounts of rainfall were Belthangady, Puttur, Karkala 6 each, Madapura 5, Udupi 4, Siddapuram, Karwar, Balehonnur 3 each, Shirali, Mangalore AP, Bangalore, Arakalgudu, Malur, Srinivasapura, Channagiri, Hosanagar, Sorab, Koratagere, Chikmagalur, Lakkavalli, Yelandur 1 each.

Forecast and farmers weather bulletin: Moderate to rather heavy rain/thundershowers will occur at almost all places over coastal Karnataka


PROGRESS OF MONSOON
RAINFALL JUNE 1 TO JULY 12
1989
J & K
PUNJAB
HARYANA
HIMACHAL
U.P.
SIKKIM
BIHAR
RAJASTHAN
GUJARAT
M.P.
ASSAM
ARUNACHAL
TRIPURA
MEGHALAYA
MIZORAM
MANIPUR
NAGALAND
MAHARASHTRA
ORISSA
W. BENGAL
ANDHRA
GOA
KARNATAKA
LAKSHA DWEEP
TAMIL NADU
A & N IS.
KERALA
EXCESS (+20% or more)
NORMAL (+19% To -19%)
DEFICIENT (-20% To -59%)

WATER

Without water we stutter,
Without water how we mutter.
Without water we flutter,
Without water we chatter.

Without water we shiver,
Without water we search for a river.
Without water we feel heavier,
Without water we feel drier.

Without water we dig,
For a well so big.
Without water we search
Having water we stand in the lurch!

DELHI, AUGUST 4, 1989 Vol. No. CXXVIII 8765

ORDEAL BY WATER

THE relief provided by a bountiful monsoon has been offset in recent weeks by the widespread devastation caused by floods in many parts of the country. A feature of the havoc wrought this time is that very few States have escaped unscathed. From Assam, Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram in the east to Jammu and Himachal Pradesh in the north to Maharashtra and Kerala in the west and south, the picture is virtually the same. As always, Ministers and high officials have been undertaking routine aerial surveys, and the Air Force has been engaged in food-dropping missions, but what these emergency relief operations have once again exposed is how little has been done over the years to implement flood control measures. Apart from the unchecked deforestation in the upper catchment areas adding to the problem of soil erosion, it appears that even embankments are not always properly maintained, with the result that a sudden breach leaves little time for people in the affected areas to escape the rushing waters. The very idea of constructing embankments has also often been criticized, for they are supposed to interfere with the normal meandering course of a river, causing the silt to accumulate on its bed, instead of on the banks, and thereby raising the river's level.

It has been suggested, therefore, that some land on either side of the river should be left aside as flood absorbers, but this is not always possible because of the pressure of population. But even if such controversial measures are avoided for the time being, there is little doubt that if the outlay of Rs 1,686 crores on flood prevention between 1951 and 1985 had been properly utilized, the situation would not have been so alarming. The losses caused by this annual ordeal are, of course, enormous — the total having risen from Rs 513.28 crores in 1956 to Rs 4,059 crores in 1985. In addition, thousands of lives have been lost, despite the improvement in weather forecasting techniques, because relief measures like the construction of monsoon shelters, proposed during the 1986 floods, are invariably shelved once the danger has receded. The official view is that nine million hectares suffer from floods every year, while another 13 million hectares were offered "protection" till 1985 at the cost of Rs 1,763 crores. But considering the kind of corruption that is prevalent in all construction activity, it is doubtful whether these figures give a correct picture.

It goes without saying that the National Flood Control Programme, started in the wake of the inundation of 1954, has not exactly been a roaring success. Progress has been unsatisfactory in the States also. The master plan prepared by the Brahmaputra Board is yet to be implemented although Assam has more than three million hectares of a flood-prone territory. The failure of such schemes has invariably led to a rise in relief expenditure to such an extent that the Ninth Finance Commission has had to be told to review the existing norms for flood relief and to suggest steps in accordance with "the need for avoidance of wasteful expenditure". But since a great deal of politics is associated with such spending, with the Centre being in control of the purse-strings, it is doubtful whether financial "waste" can be entirely ruled out. It seems likely, therefore, that despite all the ambitious plans and the generous allocations, the suffering of ordinary people during the monsoon, especially in the countryside, will not be easily reduced.

Rain, floods unrelenting

NEW DELHI, July 30.

Rain and floods continued to take their toll on human lives and property in the North and Northeastern States, while the death count in cyclonic storm in Maharashtra mounted to 685.

Seven deaths were reported from Jammu and Kashmir — two persons were killed in a cloudburst and three in landslips in the border district of Poonch while two died in house collapses in Kathua district.

More than 16,000 people living in the Pargwal island have been cut off from the rest of the Jammu region as the Chenab is flowing five feet above the danger level.

The Srinagar-Jammu and the Srinagar-Leh national highways have been closed for vehicular traffic since yesterday following landslips triggered by torrential rain. Over 3,000 vehicles, including 30 tourist buses, are stranded on the Srinagar-Jammu Highway.

Bridge washed away: A bridge on the 434-km-long Srinagar-Leh road near the Sonamarg tourist resort was washed away in flash floods.

Landslips in Himachal: Three persons were killed and three injured in landslips in Shimla in the wake of continuous rain for the fourth consecutive day in Himachal Pradesh. Several interior places have been cut off from the rest of State due to landslips.

All the rivers and their tributaries are in spate due to incessant rains in the catchment areas, reports from Shimla said. Dharamsala was the wettest place in the State with a rainfall of 150 mm. The Vayudoot flights on Delhi-Shimla and Shimla-Kullu did not operate.

Insat-1B photograph taken at 11.30 a.m. on Sunday shows the North and North-east India enveloped in thick monsoon clouds.

Situation worsens in Assam: In Assam, the flood situation in four districts further deteriorated, while road and rail communication between Lower and Upper Assam remained cut off for the third day today. Official reports from Guwahati said the rain-fed Brahmaputra and its major tributaries continued to rise above the red mark at different points in Sibsagar, Lakhimpur, Sonitpur and Jorhat districts, forcing people to take refuge on embankments and in relief camps.

Rail links cut off: Rail links between Lower and Upper Assam and the Barak Valley were cut off due to heavy landslips near Panikhaiti station on the Guwahati-Lumding main metre gauge section of the Northeast Frontier Railway. Railway engineers are working round-the-clock to restore the line.

Paddy crops on over 16,000 hectares have been submerged in Gohpur area of the district. The flood waters engulfed several villages including Thalipukuri, Kekori Basti and Garu Dhuba, affecting more than 15,000 people.

Imphal breaches embankment: In Manipur, the Imphal river, rising menacingly for the past few days, has breached its embankment at five places and washed away a major bridge on the National Highway No. 39 at Kanglatombi about 20-km from Imphal.

Official sources said the Imphal, the Iril and the Thaubal, fed by torrential rain, were flowing much above their danger level inundating vast areas in the capital town of Imphal and its adjoining districts.

Besides causing large-scale communication disruptions and loss of paddy crop, the floods worst since 1965 have damaged more than 50,000 houses, affecing several lakhs of people. The famous women's market in Imphal town is under waistdeep water. — UNI

Tale of woe in Maharashtra: Page 9

Rain likely in few days

Express News Service

NEW DELHI, July 6

The stalled monsoon in North India, particularly Delhi, is dampening the otherwise excellent record "of the best rainfall in nine years" for the rest of the country. Despite his Supercomputer the weatherman has no reasons to explain.

The best that the Meteoralogical Department can do is to explain that a "lull" in the monsoon has affected this area. They do not know when it will lift and for which regions. However they have statistics to prove that Delhi has received just 25 per cent of the rainfall normal for this time of the year – only 22.6 mm instead of 80 mm expected.

The Met Department, is optimistic that the rain will come here in the next few days.

"Yes the temperatures are very high in Delhi for this time of the year and the rainfall should have been heavier but that is all we can say. And the reason is that neither the low temperatures nor the westerly winds persist long enough for it to rain." says Mr G. S. Mandal, director, Meteorological Department.

But even though he cannot explain the cause for the delay in monsoon in the North, he says that in Eastern and Southern India, particularly, the monsoon has been the "best since 1980".

Rajasthan too has received a good rainfall compared to the last few years. In Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and West Bengal, it is torrential. However it has bypassed Delhi where first few showers were on schedule but ever since the Capital is in a state of "lull".

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20 feared drowned

HYDERABAD, July 16 (PTI): At least 20 persons, mostly women and children, were 'presumed dead' as a bus, stranded on the causeway of a hill stream in Nalgonda district, was washed away today in a flash flood, according to reports reaching police headquarters here.

The reports said the driver and conductor of the bus and two passengers had been rescued while only one body had been recovered so far.

Slum-dwellers evacuated as Yamuna rises

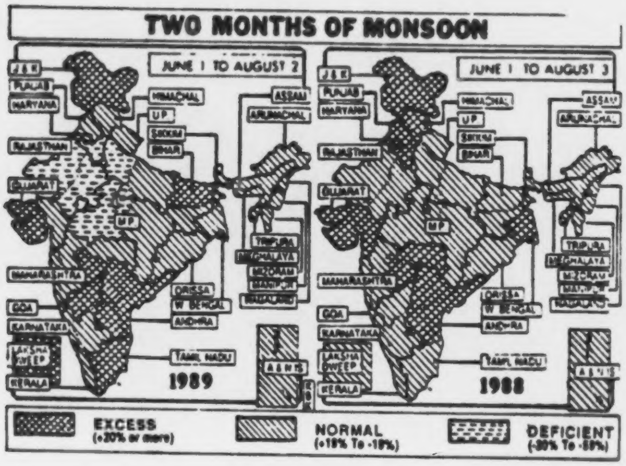
By A Staff Reporter

NEW DELHI, August 1: Slum dwellers along the Yamuna Bank were evacuated by the administration to temporary camps along the Ring Road at Vijayghat this morning following a sudden rise in the river.

Huts along the shore were flooded, something routine at this time each year. The sudden rise was due to heavy rain at some places, leading to a lot of extra water flow from Tajewala, the last major headworks upstream of Delhi.

After rising beyond the warning level of 204 m at the Old Railway Bridge (the warning is for the huts, not the rest of the city) this morning, the water-level was declining by the end of the day.

Around 96,000 cusecs (cubic feet per second) gushed through yesterday and today's was barely a fourth of that.



TWO MONTHS OF MONSOON

JUNE 1 TO AUGUST 2
1989
JUNE 1 TO AUGUST 3
1988
J & K
PUNJAB
HARYANA
RAJASTHAN
GUJARAT
MAHARASHTRA
GOA
KARNATAKA
LAKSHADWEEP
KERALA
HIMACHAL
UP
SIKKIM
BIHAR
MP
ORISSA
W BENGAL
ANDHRA
TAMIL NADU
ASSAM
ARUNACHAL
TRIPURA
MEGHALAYA
MIZORAM
MANIPUR
NAGALAND
A & N IS
EXCESS
(+20% or more)
NORMAL
(+19% To -19%)
DEFICIENT
(-20% To -59%)

Rapti crosses danger mark

LUCKNOW, July 29 (PTI)- Intermittent rains in the eastern Uttar Pradesh during the last 24 hours have led river Rapti to cross the danger mark by 0.2 meters at Birdghat in Gorakhpur, whereas river Ghaghara has shown decline since yesterday at Elgin Bridge.

According to the Central Water Commission, Hardwar received a maximum rainfall of 182 mm, followed by Ghazipur, Bareilly, Jaunpur, and Rigauli between to and 100 mm.

All the other rivers are flowing within the safe limits.

Meanwhile, the Uttar Pradesh Government is engaged in formulating a plan to take long-term measures to check the floods in Basti, Gorakhpur, Gonda and Sidhart Nagar districts in the state.

The state would seek financial aid from the Centre, the Minister of State, Mr Jadambika Pal, told newsmen here today.

Mr Pal, who accompanied the Union Finance Minister Mr S V Chavan, on a tour of the flood-affected districts in eastern UP yesterday told newmen that the World Bank also likely to be apporached for assistance for the flood-control works.

Mr Chavan had said that a central team would soon visit the flood-affected areas to assess the loss, Mr Jagdambika Pal said.

Mr Chavan also favours the construction of dams at Basti and other places to control the floods, Mr Pal added.

The State Irrigation Minister, Mr Lok Pati Tripathi, who also toured the area, said that a plan on flood control would be formulated soon.

SRINAGAR, July 29 (PTI)- Two persons sustained injuries when a bomb, believed to have been planted by secessionists in their bid to blow up the Punjab National Bank branch, exploded here late last night.

Brahmaputra rising

GUWAHATI, July 29 (PTI)- The Brahmaputra and its tributaries were rising menacingly disrupting rail and road communication in seveal parts of the state for the second day today, according to latest official reports reaching here.

The Brahmaputra was flowing above danger level in Dibrugarh and Neamatighat in upper Assam, while in the lower Assam districts, the level of the river was almost touching the danger mark.

They were swept to death in sleep

JAMBULPADA, (Maharashtra), July 30.

Jambulpada village, in the giant shadow of the Sudhagad Fort looming over the countryside from the Sahyadari range of mountains, has suddenly turned into a living "Mohenjodaro" or The Mound of the Dead after last Monday's deluge. The hamlet is in Raigad district.

The official body count is 66, according to the Deputy Collector, Mr. Avinash Subedar, but reliable estimates by long-time residents put the figure of dead at at least 150, with many more missing. Entire families have vanished, washed away with their houses and the only memorials to them are mounds of mass graves packed with bloated bodies bruised and battered beyond recognition along the rocky course of the Amba river.

"It was around 3 a.m. when the waters overwhelmed the village and many people were swept away in their sleep," said Dr. S. S. Kulkarni, an ayurvedic physiaian practising at the village for the last 25 years.

Dr. Kulkarni said he and his family survived only because they slept in the upper storey of their house which is on a relatively higher ground. Single-storey houses to the east of the village were swept away by walls of water.

75 cm rainfall in 5 hours: According to the relief committee members, 75 cm of rainfall within five hours against an average rainfall of 20 cm at the village and the "suspected" release of water from the Valvan Dam and the barrage at the Naval installation, INS Shivaji, near Lonavala led to the unprecedented flooding.

Enquiries about the stacks of wood piles near the river banks show that deforestation has been going on in the jungles to the south of the village in the last eight years. This would account for what some survivors describe as "massive flows of water from the south towards the river which had overflowed banks."

Heart-rending stories: Moving stories were told by the villagers. The body of Circle Inspector V. S. Divekar was found clasping two of his young sons to his chest. His wife and daughter also perished in the flood. There is no trace of their house except the bare foundation.

Six persons from Thane, near Bombay, literally came to die at the village as they ironically came to visit their relative on Sunday last. Dadibhai Pednekar, president of the Jambulpada Doodh Udpadak Sangh, lost his wife, two daughters-in-law and three grandchildren. Pednekar and his two sons survived as they slept in the upper storey of their house, while the rest of the family were carried away by the raging waters.

Bodies are being found as far away as Pali village, about 17 km away and Nagathone, almost 37 km distant.

All temples in the village have been damaged and the roof and walls of the Hamuman temple blown away. Pillows, blankets, sarees and cloth were entangled in uprooted bushes and tree branches.

Lost TV, not vision

RAIGADH (Maharashtra), July 30.

He held onto his new colour television set in a bid to save it, but the flood waters would have none of it.

Rajaram Jadhav, who had retired a month ago as headmaster of the New English School in Jambulpada village which was swept by flood waters on Monday last, told a visiting team of reporters yesterday that on being alerted of the flood waters, he first tried to climb to a safe place with his colour TV but in seconds his house was engulfed.

The TV set was purchased by his son the previous evening and hence the first thought that occurred to Rajaram was to save the precious possession.

However, as the flood waters rushed into his house he grabbed his 1½-year-old grandson and within seconds they were washed away. However, he held on to a tree and was saved along with his grandson. — UNI

Volunteers from various agencies including the Tata Institute of Social Sciences are helping residents to clear the debris, repair damaged houses and distribute provisions and medicines to the people.

The last such devastation took place here in 1923 when a dozen people perished following heavy rains. A woman was washed away in 1962.

The local MLC, Mr. Vijay Sawant who is camping at the relief camp set up by the Government said that even two days after the tragedy, neither the District Collector nor the Superintendent of Police visited the village under the pretext that the communication system had been cut off.

"We were left high and dry for the first two days by authorities," he said and demanded an inquiry on from where the destructive water which created havoc in the village had come.

Exhuming the tragedy at Bhaje: Relentless efforts are still on to excavate bodies buried under debris at Bhaje village in Pune district where a landslipkilled 37 persons and left several destitute last Monday.

The village, situated at the foot of a hill, had only 20 houses. The hill caved in due to the torrential rains around 3 a.m. on the fateful day.

The village, despite being about 4 km away from the Bombay-Pune highway, could not be reached. The muddy three-foot wide pathway turned into an ankle-deep sinking land due to the heavy downpour and made it difficult for any excavator or other machine to reach the place for help. — PTI, UNI

Krishna water surrounds villages

From Our Correspondent

BIJAPUR, July 30.

The flood waters of the Krishna today encircled three more villages Aski, Kadkol and Kankanawadi in Jamkhandi taluk of Bijapur district, Karnataka, according to reports received here

Water was flowing just one foot below the Padasalagi bridge (height 43 ft), 40 km from here.

Yesterday, the State-owned KSRTC buses did not ply in the night because of the flood

RAIGAD FLOODS

Long trail of destruction

By KUMAR KETKAR

THE unprecedented cloudburst that struck Raigad district a fortnight ago, recording a staggering 72 cm of rain in 24 hours and leading to crippling disaster, wiping out villages, snapping bridges, washing away roads and causing widespread damage to industrial complexes — will remain a meteorological mystery for a long time to come.

The district is yet to recover from the shock of the havoc. Between 2 and 7 am on Monday, July 24, the Amba valley received a record rainfall of 40 cm to 63 cm, flooding the rivers Amba, Patalgana, Kundalika and tributaries in the hilly region, swallowing villages in the saucer-shaped valleys.

The toll in Raigad alone may turn out to be about 1,000. (Officially, the Authorities have been able to notify 896 deaths in the whole state i.e. including flood-victims in Beed, Nanded and Aurangabad.)

No count would be able to reveal the number of "missing" persons because several migrant families, employed by private contractors working in the industrial complexes, have been swept away. Their names and addresses simply do not exist even with their contractors. But the surviving migrants in the refugee camps tell terrifying tales of their co-workers from Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. Almost the entire hutment colony on the bank of Patalganga river was wiped out in a flash.

Even today, one comes across trees and electric poles along the river, against which these huts dashed, leaving belongings of the hutments dwellers dangling forlornly from them. Hundreds of surviving workers fled the area. Some contractors, fearing they may have to pay compensation, had hurriedly herded the contract workers into trucks and dropped them at Lonavla station. But the track between Lonavla and Pune was washed out. The dazed migrant families were stranded at Lonavla. Some trekked back only to find their contractor-employer refused even to recognise them.

The government relief teams co-ordinated by the collector and tehsildars are swamped by the overwhelming number of people seeking relief. Cash doles of Rs. 110 to almost anyone who was flood-affected, Rs 750 to those whose houses were inundated and Rs 15,000 to those who can "prove" that a member of their family died are being distributed.

"It is an awesome task. There are too many claimants. It is difficult to establish the precise identity of the flood-affected or that of the nearest kith of kin of the dead. I have distributed from this taluka office alone Rs. 6 lakhs in the last 10 days," said Mr K. P. Patil, tehsildar at Khalapur.

Indeed, the teams of officials are working against all kinds of odds. The fire-brigade, police, doctors, social workers, MIDC, MSEB and MSRTC staff — are all engaged over 12 hours a day in resorting life to normal. And yet, if there is chaos, it is because of a shortage of manpower. People in other parts of Maharashtra have been generous but what the flood-affected areas need is volunteers.

Mr Vijay Mundhe, a soical worker and Shiv Sena activist at Rasayani, had formed youth groups which had rescued 39 people from the ravaging floods. The same group also recovered 28 corpses from the receding waters. These bodies were cremated *en masse* at Patalganga. Similarly, Mr Gopal Tandel from village Ashtami in Roha formed a human chain of volunteers and saved the lives of nearly 50 people who were trapped in the swirling waters.

Mr Mundhe said many of the dead were contract workers and yet the contractors would not provide vehicles to carry their bodies. Nor have the private sector units in the Patalganga belt shown any philantropic concern or magnanimity in helping to rehabilitate people and reconstruct the villages around. There are a few honourable exceptions, like Cipla and Indrol, but no one has taken any lead in adopting any of the villages.

About Rs 4,000 crores are invested in this belt by the private sector in 61 small, medium and big chemical units. Top executives of all these companies have visited their plants in the flood-affected area, but none has bothered to pay a visit to the hapless villages around, say the social workers here. True, they have given relief in cash and kind to some of their workers but, by and large, the private sector in Patalganga appeared indifferent to the tragedy around.

The burden of relief assistance, co-ordination and medical treatment, fell on the public sector unit, Hindustan Organic Chemicals (HOC) in Rasayani.

Dr Namboodri, in-charge of medical facilities at HOC, provided over 7,000 vaccinations and offered epidemic-preventing medicines in the first four days alone. The HOC guest house and hospital were virtually turned into refugee camps. Mr Oundhe, director of finance, said. "As a public sector unit, it is our philosophy to provide help to the neighbourhood." Apparently, no such philosophy guided the private sector here, as one executive bluntly said, "All the units are busy rehabilitating themselves. Where is the time now to attend to the villages? Moreover, that is government's responsibility."

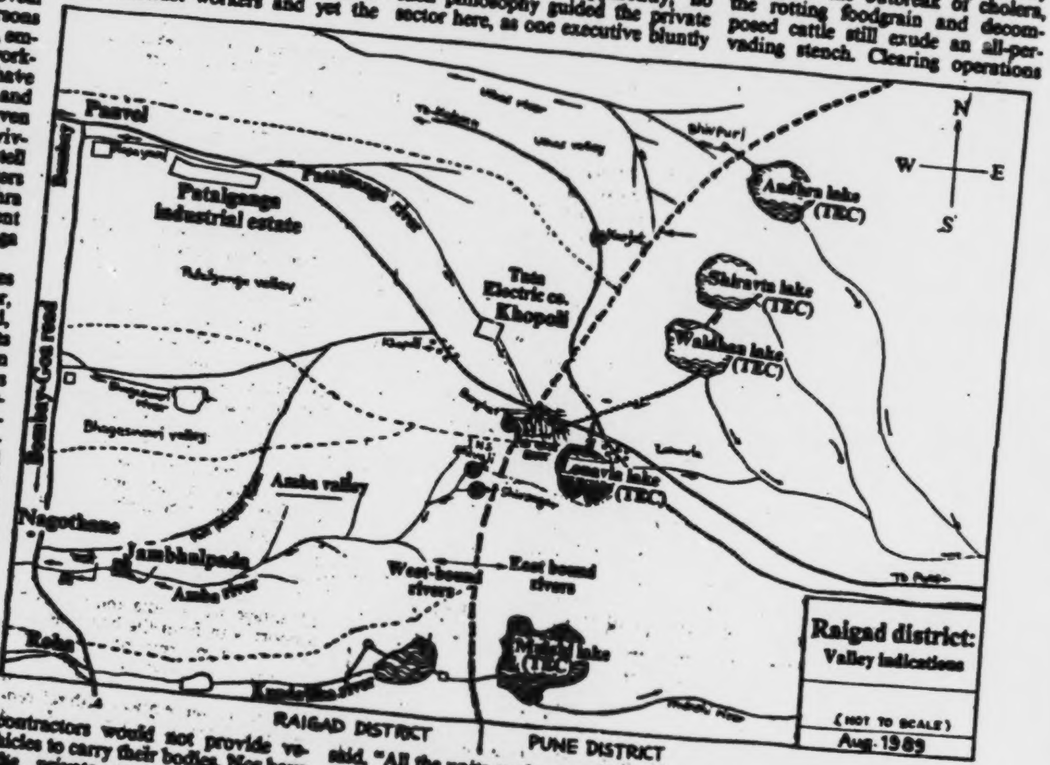
In Roha, on the other hand, private firms have taken upon themselves the responsibility of rehabilitating the villages and the town nearby. The 40-odd industrial enterprises in Roha have formed a co-ordination committee to streamline flood relief. Observed Mr B. V. Gandhi, manager of Excel and honorary secretary of the Roha Industries Association, "we cannot be oblivious to the grave situation around us." Mr Ashwinbhai Shroff, joint managing director of Excel had promptly taken the lead in organising relief.

Public sector units like HOC, Indian Petrochemicals Limited in Nagothane and RCF in Alibag became nodel agencies co-ordinating relief in association with collectorates and government teams. In most areas, the MIDC and MSEB swung into action to restore water and power supply. And yet, it will take at least another week to resume normal production in the industrial belts.

Many of the areas are still quite inaccessible as the bridges have collapsed and roads have been washed away. The telecommunication system is in shambles. Though government teams have successfully prevented the outbreak of cholera, the rotting foodgrain and decomposed cattle still exude an all-pervading stench. Clearing operations could go on for more than a month.

Nearly 50,000 families have become homeless. Over 5,000 traders and small businessmen have lost their stocks and equipment. All the 20 units in the Vithoba Rural Industrial Estate near Patalganga, for instance, have been wiped out.

The rivers and tributaries in the region have collected an enormous amount of mud, raising the river beds. Hundreds of uprooted trees,



Bodies of cyclone victims being fished out from the swollen Patalganga river in Raigad district after last fortnight's storm. — Picture by Deepak Kambli.

stones, items of furniture, household effects and even stray office equipment and damaged machinery have got caught mid stream. Raw materials and finished goods flown from the chemical factories have been lost. Now that the water has receded and even the mud is slowly settling, buses, trucks and matadors, cycles and scooters have begun to surface, half-buried in the earth.

Another alarming feature is the leak of hazardous chemicals. As the flood waters entered the chemical — plants, it washed away hundreds of drums containing chemicals poisonous, polluting and inflammable. Acres of rice-fields have been ruined as a result. In some areas, the police jeeps had to move around appealing people not to open any of the sealed drums. Three villagers near Nagothane died after drinking methanol.

While the government encourages industrialisation of backward areas, the disaster revealed that adequate attention has not been paid to infrastructure. The flood-affected region was totally cut off for the first three days. Incidentally, except for a couple of industrial units, no factory was covered by flood insurance.

A unit on the Khopoli-Pali road, Sudhagad Rubber, has been thoroughly destroyed. Not a single machine, vehicle or even guest house has survived the fury of the river. Three people in the factory lost their lives. It was the only medium-sized, completely indigenous plant that supplied textile cots and aprons to textile mills all over India. This unit alone has resulted in a loss of around Rs 1.5 crores.

The widespread damage to Reliance, Lona, Alkyl Amines in Patalganga and Colour-Chem, Excel and other 38 units in Roha shows that the overall thinking on disaster planning was extremely inadequate.

The flash floods that caused such widespred ruin, hve obviously led to some controversies. Why did the meteorology department not issue an advance warning? What kind of alert systems are called for? Who could have issued an alarm and how, if the catastrophe was foreseen? Were the Tata Electric Company lakes responsible for causing floods?

The last question in the series is now conclusively answered. The TEC lakes could not have caused floods. They are on east-bound rivers and could flood the Indrayani and Bhima rivers, taking water to Pune, not to the west, in Amba valley (see map). The discharge of water from the ducts on the west side is insignificant.

The water levels in the TEC lakes had not reached alarming levels in the early hours of July. The dams in question are "non-gated", therefore, the question of opening the gates does not arise. Any discharge from Khopoli would first be felt at Shilphata, where shops are located almost 5 ft. above the normal level of the river. Moreover, the cloudburst had resulted in a flow of 1,25,000 cubic feet per second (cusecs) of water in the Amba valley on that Black Mondy morning. The TEC dams could not have substantially added to this torrent, even if water was discharged into these rivers.

Fishermens' tale of woe

Express News Service

RAIGAD, July 31

"We couldn't see the boat nearest to ours because it was so dark. The heavy rains and high winds churned the sea and we didn't even have time to think of dying because we had to battle the huge waves," say surviving fishermen who encountered the cyclone last Sunday.

Eight days after the worst storm in recent times, which claimed the lives of more than 300 fisher folk among the Konkan coast, those who lived to tell the tale of their encounter with nature at its angriest, speak of the bravery of their colleagues, the friends they lost and the straws they clutched to safety.

Ganesh Moreshwar Koli, 23 years, left from Uran along with seven others on 'Hari Om Sai' on July 21. The seas were calm with no hint of the impeding storm "We had gone towards Ratnagiri for fishing and the storm hit us on Saturday itself. (The cyclone reached the Raigad coast on Sunday night). We tried to get back to Bombay but the huge waves capsized our boat and six of us were thrown into the sea," he said haltingly.

Two others were trapped in the cabin and could not come out. They sank with the boat. Ganesh said that a small wooden box that was floating on the waves was grabbed at by all six who were tossed along towards Alibag. Near Sakar village along the coast, three fishermen got separated from the rest.

"I lost confidence when this happened and through that this was the end but somehow, I was determined to get to Alibag. I was familiar with the area as I had done a fisherman's training course there. So I pointed out the direction of the Alibag Fort and we swam towards it."

It took ten hours before Ganesh could reach the Alibag Eort after he was cast into the rough seas. The island was deserted as most people, including the temple priest, had gone to mainland. About half-an-hour later, another fisherman, Vasant Motiram Mhatre of Jite village, managed to reach the fort. The two slept in the temple.

Ganesh then faced a different ordeal on land as he tried to secure some drinking water, medical aid and transport for himself and his injured colleagues.

Sitaram Janardhan Naqva, also from Karanja, had left by "Vijayaki" on that fateful Saturday, with no warning from the weather forecasters of any storm. "Our ordeal started on Sunday night at about 9 pm when the storm started." We struggled for over ten hours, constantly removing the water as the waves hit us but our boat capsized on Monday evening and we were thrown into the sea, "he recalls.

Sitaram and the seven others on his boat were lucky in that fisherfok from the boat nearest to theirs, the "Amrutamayli" threw ropes and managed to drag them out. The water pump of their boat had failed, their engine broke down and the high winds prevented them from reaching the shore till Wednesday.

For Jagannath Khandu Bhagat, barely 24 years old, an attempt to rescue a boat belonging to a relative, of his boat's owner, proved "disastrous." We were nine persons on board "Mangalmurthi " and "found the other boat near Murud coast. We began towing it back when the storm got us, so we broke the rope attached to the boat," he said.

Jagannath could barely speak as he relieved his experience with the black seas. They managed to reach sasson docks and found a watchman of the defence establishment who directed them to the nearby bus stop.

The fishermen, now getting over the shock of their experience and their narrow escape, have many stories to tell. But what they are all extremely upset about is the failure of the weather bureau to put up any kind of warning. They are also up in arms about the lack of any cooperation from the Coast Guard.

Says Tukaram Ramachandra Naqva, chair person of the Karanja Machimar Cooperative Society. "We have lost about 53 boats out of total 62. The storm was approaching from Ratnagiri to Raigad by Saturday itself. We didn't see a single warning signal till Wednesday July 26." Out of the 450 boats from Karanja, 350 left from Sasson Docks and the rest left from Karanja. At least 215 have died only from the Karanja boats, he maintains.

According to Mr Naqva,.on seeing the storm, a group of representatives from the society met Commodore A. K. Sharma of the Coast Guard to request boats to locate stranded fishermen. The latter reportedly delayed extending help and agreed to send boats only on Thursday, after they complained to Chief Minister.

Earlier, they had met Fisheries Minister, Hatankar, who was also unable to provide boats. "If only they had listened to us, we could have saved more people. Now, all we can do is sit here and mourn our fate." said another member of the cooperative.

Rescue work in full swing

From page 1

not yet been able to locate the fishermen missing at sea.

Bombay-Pune link cut off: Road and rail traffic between Pune and Bombay remained cut off for the second day due to landslides, and derailment near Vadgaon yesterday following torrential rains in the surrounding region.

A report from Bombay quoted the Chief Minister Sharad Pawar as saying that more than 200 people had been killed during the past 36 hours after the cyclone.

However, with reports of the recovery of over 150 bodies which were washed away in flood waters in Bindusaradam of Beed district alone, the unofficial toll was put at more than 300.

Airdropped: A Hyderabad report said IAF and Naval helicopters today airdropped food packets over the marooned villages in Nizamabad district and Eluru town in West Godavari district, even as the Godavari was rising at many places in Andhra Pradesh.

A report from Munnar in Kerala said torrential rain and floods during the last five days had wrought extensive damage in the high ranges in State. Almost all the approach roads to Munnar with one lakh inhabitants were blocked by landslides and breaches.

Strong gales accompanying the rains blew off the roofs of several houses and uprooted trees. Many houses and residential colonies remained partly or fully submerged.

A two km-long stretch on the Kerala side of the northern outlet road linking Munnar with Udumalpet (TN) has been washed away. Officials estimate that it may take several weeks to repair the breach.

"Reassess the damage": The Karnataka Governor, Mr. P. Venkatasubbaiah, today made an aerial survey of five rain-affected taluks of Bidar district.

Later, he told newsmen that the damage to the crops was more than the assessment of Rs. five crore made by the district administration. He asked the authorities concerned to reassess the damage.

All the major rivers in Karnataka continued to be in spate, with their water level still rising today, and many houses had collapsed since yesterday following heavy rains in several parts of the state.

More than seven hundred people were shifted to safer places in Nanjangud town, in Mysore district, as the overflowing Kabini river inundated several areas there.

Torrential rains, accompanied by gusty winds, uprooted electric and telephone poles and trees, besides damaging a number of houses in Chikmagalur district. Landslides were reported in south Kanara.

Trains to Bombay cancelled, diverted

Express News Service

Madras, July 25: Railways have cancelled operation of six trains between Bombay and centres in the South and diverted three others till July 31 due to breaches in the Pune-Kalyan sections of Central Railway.

The trains cancelled are: No 9/10 Bombay-Madras Mail and Madras-Bombay Mail, 963/964 Madras-Bombay Chennai and Bombay-Madras Chennai Express, 957/958 Mangalore/Cochin-Dadar and Dadar-Mangalore/Cochin Express, 935/936 Mangalore/Cochin-Bombay Netravati and Bombay-Mangalore/Cochin Netravati Express, 903/904 Trivandrum-Rajkot and Rajkot-Trivandrum Express, 937/938 Cochin-Ahmedabad and Ahmedabad Cochin Express.

In addition to this, train Nos 3/4 Madras-Howrah-Madras Mail arriving at and departing from Madras Central on July 26 have been cancelled.

The trains diverted are: Nos 11/12 Madras-Dadar and Dadar-Madras Express, 81/82 Kanyakumari-Bombay V T and Bombay V T-Kanyakumari Express, 129/130 Bangalore-Bombay and Bombay-Bangalore Udyan Express. These trains are diverted via Dhond, Manmad, Ighatpuri and Kalyan.

In addition to these, consequent on the cancellation of Train No 81 Bombay-Kanyakumari Express leaving Bombay on July 24, the return train No 82 leaving Kanyakumari on July 27 has been cancelled.

According to Southern Railway, full refund will be made to passengers not undertaking their journeys. The authorities have also nominated duty officers and opened an assistance booth to assist public round the clock at Madras Central. Further information regarding the services at Madras Central can be had with the telephone Nos 563218, 567575, 567585.

Heavy rain in Coimbatore

Coimbatore, July 25: Valparai here received 86 mm rain for the fourth day in succession. Due to landslips and falling of trees, the Valparai-Pollachi road is still cut off for vehicular traffic. Due to heavy rain, schools have been closed till Thursday.

Water supply to Coimbatore city was disrupted on Monday due to landslips and blockade of inlet pipes, following heavy rain in the catchment areas. Corporation authorities are working round-the-clock to remove the blocks.

Thanks to recent rains, all the rivers and tanks in and around Coimbatore have received copious inflow. For the first time in five years, Noyyal stream which has 21 small dams on its course has surplus water. "This is the best year for dry land farmers" said Mr V.N. Ramaswami, Superintending Engineer, PWD.

Heavy inflow: Following heavy inflow into the Amaravathi river, Karur town, which experienced acute water scarcity till a few days back, will get abundant drinking water.

People residing in low lying areas near Amaravathi have been shifted to places of safety.

Maharashtra death toll crosses 500

Bombay, July 25 (PTI): In an unprecedented monsoon disaster, over 500 people have lost their lives in flash floods, house collapses, landslides and electrocution during incessant rains for the last two days in Maharashtra and over 2,000 others were missing, including 1,000 fishermen in the high seas, according to reports reaching here tonight.

Army, navy and air force personnel joined the state government in rescue and relief missions on an emergency basis as the officially confirmed death toll rose to 336.

As many as fourteen districts were affected by the calamitous rains and storm, with the wind velocity rising to 75 kmph. The damage to crops and destruction of livestock would run into crores of rupees, official sources said.

In the industrial metropolis of Bombay, production came to a total halt yesterday as workers failed to report for duty. Even as the city was limping back to normal today, a weather bureau alert to fisherfolk not to venture out to the sea in the next 24 hours set off a panic.

According to a Bombay report, naval and air force helicopters air-dropped essential items to thousands of marooned villagers, while the army was working with bulldozers to extricate about 30 people buried by landslides at Lonavla.

The cyclonic storm which is feared to have claimed more than 100 lives yesterday was caused by a depression in the Bay of Bengal. The depression, which lay over Nandurbar in Maharashtra's Dhule district last night, was now centred 50 km from Ahmedabad.

Naval helicopters carried out several sorties over Mahad Madkhed and Nagothane areas in the coastal Konkan belt and pressed into service dingys to rescue marooned villagers, who had braved the fury of the deluge for the past 36 hours.

The Indian Air Force began relief operations in Marathwada, especially Nanded and Beed districts from its base at Hyderabad.

Air Force helicopters also took off from the Oil and Natural Gas Commission's helipad in Bombay to airdrop 4,000 loaves of bread to villagers encircled by flood waters at nearby Panvel in Thane district.

The Coast Guard, which swung into action yesterday to locate a fleet of 300 fishing boats missing in the choppy Arabian Sea, has

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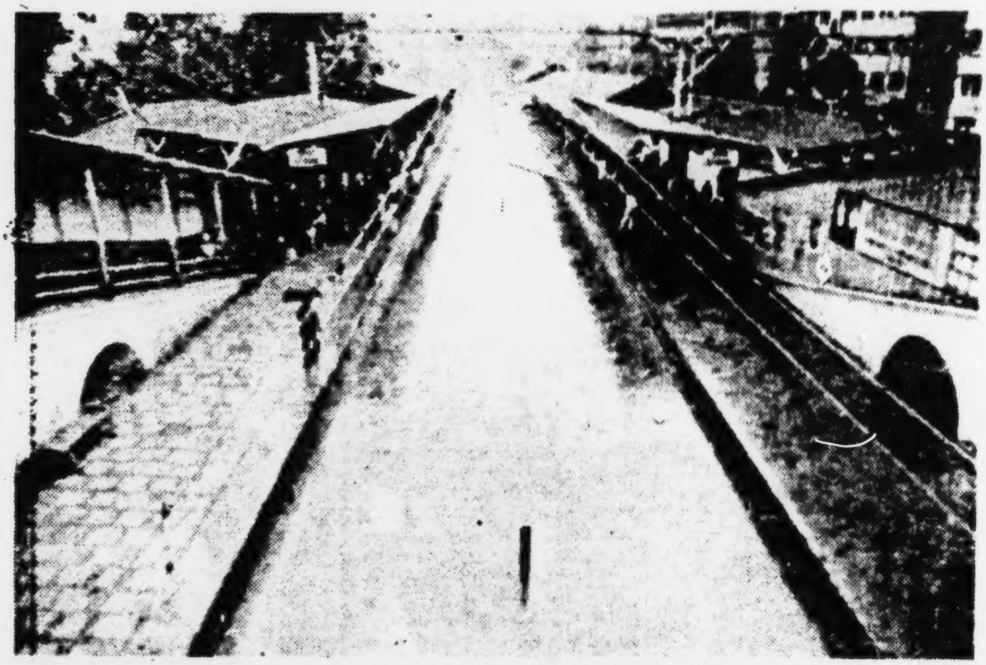


NOT A CANAL: The tracks at Bombay's Sion railway station submerged during Monday's heavy rains. *PTI*

11 killed as rains lash north India

NEW DELHI, July 30.

INCESSANT rains continued to paralyse normal life claiming 11 lives in north India even as the death toll in the cyclonic strom in Maharashtra mounted to 676 today, reports PTI.

Eight persons were killed and many injured in cloudburst, house collapses and lightning in Jammu and Kashmir in the past 24 hours.

A report from Shimla said three persons were buried alive and three injured in house collapses in the state.

Almost all the rivers and rivulets in Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir were in high spate following widespread rains.

Normal life and vehicular traffic were badly disrupted in almost all parts of the region.

The Lahaul Valley in Himachal Pradesh was cut off from rest of the country following washing away of a large stretch at Manali-Leh road.

The Delhi-Shimla and Delhi-Kulu flights of the Vayudoot remained suspended for the third day today.

The 300-km Srinagar-Jammu national highway was closed to traffic following landslides.

The weather office recorded rainfall between 100 mm and 223 mm in many parts of Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, Haryana and the Union territory of Chandigarh at 8.30 a.m. today.

The overall flood situation in Assam remained critical for the third consecutive day with rail and road communication between Guwahati and upper Assam, Barak Valley and the rest of the north east, still out.

Latest reports said the Brahamputra and its tribuatries had arisen further and were flowing above the danger mark at Dibrugarh, Neamatighat and Tezpur.

Fresh areas of human habitations and crop land have been engulfed by the flood waters, forcing people to move to embankments and higher reaches with their belongings.

The district authorities have been keeping round-the-clock vigil on roads, embankments and other vulnerable areas against possible breaches.

Five persons lost their lives and several houses were damaged in landslides yesterday.

In Manipur, several areas in Imphal valley including Cairang, Khurai, Shingjamei were submerged following breaches in the embankments.

Report from Kohima said the army was called out in Manipur today to assist the civil administration for flood relief in Imphal after most rivers were in spate inundating low-lying areas following heavy rains for the last six days.

The toll in last week's storm in Maharashtra could reach a thousand as so far 676 bodies have been recovered, official sources said.

Meanwhile, reports from Bangalore said all the major rivers in Karnataka were receding following respite from torrential rains which has taken a toll of 16 lives so far.

The water level in the Krishna, which had encircled some villages in Bijapur district, was also decreasing.

Village doomed in deluge

JAMBULPADA (Maharashtra), July 31. — In the giant shadow of the Sudhagad fort looming over the countryside from the Sahyadari mountain range, this hamlet in Raigad district dating back to the Peshwa period in Maharashtra, has suddenly turned into a living "Mohenjodaro" or "the mound of the dead" after Monday's deluge, reports PTI.

Like the remnants of the famed Mohenjodaro, the extinct Indus Valley civilization site now located in Pakistan after Partition, the ruins of this ravaged village in the worst-hit district of the State command the attention of the relief crew and visitors.

The official body count was 66, says the Deputy Collector, Mr Avinash Subedar, but reliable estimates by residents put the figure of those dead at at least 150, with many more missing. Entire families have vanished, washed away with their houses and the only memorials to them were mounds of mass graves packed with bloated bodies bruised beyond recognition along the rocky course of the Amba river.

"It was around 3 a.m. when the waters overwhelmed the village and many people were swept away in their sleep," recalled Dr S. S. Kulkarni, an ayurvedic doctor practising at the village for the past 25 years.

Dr Kulkarni said he and his family had survived only because they were sleeping in the upper storey of their house which was on relatively higher ground. Single-storey houses to the east of the village were just washed away by the water which swept everything in its path.

According to relief committee members, 30 inches of rainfall within a span of five hours as against an average rainfall of eight inches at the village and "suspected" release of water from the Valvan dam and the barrage at the naval installation, INS Shivaji, near Lonavala led to the unprecedented flooding.

Meanwhile, inquiries about the stacks of wood piles near the river banks revealed that deforestation has been going on in the jungles to the south of the village since the past eight years.

This would account for what some survivors described as "massive flows of water from the south towards the river which had overflowed banks." This indicated that the village was caught in the cross currents of river waters and the flows from the forest area.

It has come as no surprise to relief workers that mud houses were completely washed away in the storm. However, the fact that even several concrete houses suffered the same fate or were severely damaged has indicated that their foundations were not sufficiently strong.

DELHI, Wednesday, August 2, 1989

Level of Yamuna rising

Express News Service

NEW DELHI, Aug 1

The level of the Yamuna has risen slightly past the "warning" mark, thanks to the release of 96,000 cusecs of water from Tajewala on Monday.

The level at the Old Railway Bridge was 204.37 metres, while the "warning" mark is 204 meters. Heavy rainfall in the upper catchment areas had resulted in the water being released, officials said.

According to the MCD city zone committee chairman, Mr Ramesh Datta, several hundred jhuggis at Yamuna bridge have been inundated on Monday night because of the rising water level.

He urged the Lt-Governor, Mr Romesh Bhandari, to provide relief to the affectd people.

Jhuggi dwellers taking out their domestic effects after their hutments submerged in flood waters near old Railway Bridge Express photo

Poor inflow into reservoirs

From Our Special Correspondent

BANGALORE, July 21.

While there has been widespread rain in Karnataka greatly relieving the anxiety caused by a dry spell earlier this month delay in the sowing operation the rather poor rain in the catchment areas of the major hydel projects is causing some concern.

The reports reaching the State headquarters said there were drizzles in the catchment areas of the Sharavathi and Kali rivers. The inflow into the Linganamakki reservoir was 13,696 cusecs this morning while it was 12,770 cusecs in respect of the Supa reservoir of the Kali project.

Last year during this time the inflow into the Linganamakki reservoir was as high as 75,000 to 80,000 cusecs. The level of the reservoir today was 1772.25 feet, about 1.25 feet less than last year's (maximum level 1,189 feet). The level of the Supa reservoir was 1,709.15 feet, the maximum being 1,853.67 feet.

The Electricity Board sources said that the average generation of power in the State was around 24 million units daily and this is being supplemented by about 7 million units from other sources like Neyveli and Ramagundam super thermal power station besides imports from Maharashtra.

The Divisional Commissioner, Bangalore Division, Mr. S. N. Shantha Kumar, said all the districts in the division had received good rain. Except in Srinivaspur in Kolar district where some 14 or 15 huts had collapsed due to rain, there were no reports of any damage.

The sowing operations in many areas which could not be done earlier are expected to be completed in the next one week. The reports said that in some parts the farmers could not continue with agricultural cooperations in the last four or five days because of rain.

BDA tree-planting programme: The Bangalore Development Authority has decided to take up roadside tree-planting programme during the current rainy season on a large scale and also to develop 15 new parks in various layouts under its jurisdiction, with the active assistance of Horticulture and Forest Departments.

Over 12,000 seedlings will be planted in different layouts including Hennur Road-Banaswadi layout, Old Madras Road-Banaswadi Road layout, east of NGEF layout, Hennur Road-Bellary Road layout II stage, Nagarabhavi layout I and II stages, Nandini layout, Hosur-Sarjapur Road layout, Chandra layout, etc., covering about 55 km of roads during the current year.

At a meeting presided over by the BDA Chairman, Mr. N. P. singh, it was decided to take up roadside tree-planting programme in areas within the limits of the Bangalore City Corporation. It was also agreed to provide necessary funds to the Forest Department for this purpose. The BDA would be contributing Rs. 6 lakhs for this programme, to begin with.

New parks: The proposed 15 new parks will be developed in Indiranagar, Cambridge Layout, Koramangala, Banashankari, Rajamahal Vilas Extension II stage, Nandini layout, Kengeri satellite town, BTM and JP Nagar layouts. Voluntary organisations like the Lions Club, Rotary Club and Jaycees Club have also agreed to get involved in the development and maintenance of these parks besides creating recreational facilities for children.

With a view to preventing silting of the beds of live tanks in Bangalore city, the BDA and the Bangalore City Corporation will collaborate with the Forest and Tourism Departments to take up foreshore plantations and develop some of the tank areas as tourist sports, it is said

RELIGIOUS (in)TOLERANCE :

THE BABRI DISPUTE

Religious conflicts are an age old phenomenon to us in the Western World. The eary Christians, persecuted in Rome, turned the other cheek or, should I say sword, when they became the state religion. Lest we forget: Charlemagne forcibly converting the Saxons to Christianity, the feudal serfs and lords, those terrible infidels in what historians titled the Crusades and, of course, those periodic outbursts of antisemitism in 18th and 19th century Europe called the pogroms - "bash the boys with the yarmulkes."

We look down our arrogant noses condescendingly at the religious violence in Beirut and the aberration in Northern Ireland.

The conflict between the Moslems and the Hindus on the Subcontinent dates back, I suspect, to the arrival of the first Moslems. Never resolved, it always was just below the surface held in check by the colonial administration and the largely British-led Indian army. To maintain their "jewel in the crown," I suspect the British fostered the differences between the religions and held out the carrot of a separate Moslem state. At independence, what was hoped to be a moment of great joy became a scene of human tragedy almost without parallel in history. Millions died as friend turned on friend, family on family. That enmity lies just below the surface and raises its ugly head periodically. The cause often is the most trival of occurrences - a verbal slight, an alleged affront, using someone else's tool, land, cow.

The Babri dispute or the making of mountains out of religious molehills has the potential to be the cause of renewed communal violence. On this holy ground, to both Moslem and Hindu alike, the Hindu hierarchy wants to build a temple. Further stir the crisis pot with the fact that national elections are but a few months away.

1) Have the students list the crises spots in the world today including Israel, Lebanon, Sri Lanka, Cambodia, N. Ireland, Nicaragua, etc. How many of these have religion as a cause or one onf the causes in the dispute?

2) See if the students can remember from history events that revealed man's religious intolerance (Crusades, Pogroms, Holocaust, Mormon migration, etc., etc.).

3) Readings from Vol. 2 of this effort are particularly worthy of their reading. Particularly graphic are passages from Freedom at Midnight and The Last Train to Pakistan.

ETERNAL INDIA : From Gaumukh, the source of the Ganga, to Gurgaon, these pilgrims walk, carrying pitchers of the sacred water in the belief that this act will wash away their sins and secure a better life in their next birth. TOI photo by Sondeep Shankar.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Devotees throng Shiva temple

MEERUT, July 31. — Over 200,000 people offered Ganga water brought in kavads from Hardwar at the Pura-Mahadeva, the senior superintendent of police, Mr Pandey, said today, reports PTI.

Nearly 50,000 devotees offered Ganga water at the Baba Aughar Nath Shiva temple-Kali Paltan and at Mahadeva Shiva temple in Gud ri Bazar.

Two thousand police personnel have been deployed to prevent any untoward incident.

No change in Hindu Parishad plan

Express News Service

NEW DELHI, Aug 3

The Vishwa Hindu Parishad said on Thursday that it would go ahead with its plan to build the Ram Janmabhoomi temple, irrespective of the High Court verdict on the subject.

"It is beyond the domain of the High Court to challenge the faith of a people", said the general secretary of the parishad, contradicting the reported statement of the Home Minister that the parishad had agreed to abide by the High Court judgment.

The general secretary, Mr Ashok Singhal, said that the parishad would launch its programme of collecting one brick from each of the 5.75 lakh villages of the country and taking it to Ayodhya to build the temple.

"Each brick will have Shri Ram written on it in the mothertongue of the people who contribute it. From September 30, the bricks will start reaching Ayodhya after they are consecrated locally. Every person in every village will also donate Rs 1.25 towards the cost of the temple", said Mr Singhal.

He said that the Parishad hoped to raise at least Rs 25 lakh through this programme, apart from ensuring the participation of the people. "Come what may, the foundation stone will be laid in Ayodhya on November 9 this year," said Mr Singhal.

Mr Singhal said that a section of the press had been quoting the Home Minister as saying that the problem had been resolved and the High Court would be the final arbitrator. "All I can say is that the Home Minister is not our spokesman and the High Court cannot dictate to us," he said.

Mr Singhal said that the only solution, in fact, would be to shift the Mosque to some other spot. "We will help the Muslims in doing this," he said. He also refused to accept the suggestion that a national monument be built at the controversial site in Ayodhya.

Mr Singhal said that the entire machinery of the parishad would now be geared towards the proposed construction of the temple. "No political party can afford to alienate us," he said.

The parishad was also planning a yatra in Delhi between September 17 and September 22, in which a thousand sadhus would participate, said Mr Singhal. He said that the sadhus would participate in a long march and hold discussions on various issues, including the temple and the coming elections.

Don't make Babri a poll issue: VP

Express News Service

NEW DELHI, Aug 4

Mr V. P. Singh, president of Janata Dal, has appealed to all political parties not to make the Babri Masjid-Ram Janmabhoomi dispute an issue in the coming elections and to avoid the path of confrontation.

According to a press release of Janata Dal on Friday, Mr Singh made this appeal on Thursday evening at the first meeting of the minority cell of the party, which was attended by people from all over the country. The meeting was called at the initiative of Mr Mufti Mohammed Sayed, who is the convener of minority cell.

The meeting also endorsed the policy of the party to go in for seat adjustments with the Bharatiya Janata Party. Though some people expressed reservations about it, the consensus at the meeting was that it was more important to defeat the Congress (I) and ensure one to one contests in all the constituencies.

Mr V. P. Singh assured those present that there was no question of compromising on the party's commitment to the minorities. He also expressed the confidence that the National Front would form the Government after the elections and said that the five party alliance was complete and that no other party be would included in the Front.

Briefing press persons about the deliberations of the meeting, Mr Mufti Mohammed Sayed said here on friday that many participants emphasised the need to tackle the educational and social backwardness amongst Muslims on a war footing.

In response to a question about the Janata Dal's response to the charter of demands circulated by Mr Syed Shahbuddin, Mr Sayed said the meeting had discussed the matter and opined that "appropriate demands" should be implemented. Since all parties made pre-election promises, the participants felt that Mr V. P. Singh should persuade the National Front governments in existence immediately to take steps to implement the Front's commitments to the minorities. This would increase the Front's credibility in the eyes of the people, they said.

Those who attended the meeting included Mr V. P. Singh, Mr Yunus Saleem, Mr Khurshid Ahmed, Mr Ghulam Saravar, Mr I. K. Gujral, Mr R. K. Hegde, Mr Manzoor Ahmed, Mr Irfanullah, Mr Javed Habib, Mr Wasim Ahmed, Mr M. Fernandes.

Many of the participants felt that the Congress (I) would do its best to divert the attention of the people from the Bofors and other scandals and would try and communalise the situation in the country. They urged Mr V. P. Singh to request all parties not to make Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute an election issue and to defuse the situation currently being created.

Mr V. P. Singh reiterated his assurance to the minorities of his party's "irrevocable" commitment to secularism, and to ensuring them freedom of religious practice. He said that necessary steps would be taken to constitute a special police force comprising all communities to curb communal riots. The National Front had already promised that it would not interfere with Muslim personal law, he said..

Mr Sayed, who inaugurated the meeting, said that Muslims were as concerned with national issues as any other community. He criticised the authoritarian attitude of the Congress (I) Government and expressed the hope that Muslims would support Janata Dal in the coming elections.

Astrologers enter Babri dispute

By ANAND K. SAHAY

The Times of India News Service

NEW DELHI, August 1.

OF all things, a new astrological angle is expected to be injected into the vicious Ram Janambhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute, and this should cause the ruling party to heave a sigh of relief.

Some 50 "leading" Hindu astrologers, astronomers and religious foundations are understood to have determined that in relation to the Sun, the Earth would be in its "dakshinayan" phase in the winter. As opposed to the "uttarayan", "dakshinayan" is considered inauspicious. And this is where politics comes in.

Since the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, RSS and kindred organisations have chosen a date in early November to lay the foundation stone of the proposed Ram temple at "Ram Janambhoomi" in Ayodhya, and thus raised the prospects of communal tension developing, the government is expected to take refuge in the traditionalist argument that the "dakshinayana" would be a singularly inauspicious period in which to begin constructing the temple.

According to this view, "dakshinayan" would give way to "uttarayana" only in February next year. If organisations, determined to press ahead with construction are made to halt in their stride in deference to the pundits, the government would have saved itself a great deal of trouble in UP on the eve of the next general election, due about that time.

Deepening of the communal divide is the last thing the government would be looking for just before the poll, for it is a loser, no matter what.

If trouble starts when the temple is being inaugurated with bricks brought from all over the country and consecrated with "Ganga jal" (Ganges water), as Hindu "communal" organisations have planned, and the police is brought in to quell possible rioting, the government action is certain to go down badly with the majority community in a surcharged atmosphere.

On the other hand, if the government remains quiescent, and allows the temple ceremony to proceed, the minorities are not expected to take kindly to this. In either, event, the government would have to failed to impress the electorate.

It is small wonder then that the government is believed to have taken a keen interest in mobilising the opinion of the religious pundits. The Union home minister, Mr Buta Singh, is understood to have met some of the Ecclesiastes.

The Shankaracharya of Kanchi, one of the four high priests of traditional Hindu orthodoxy, is said to be among those who believe that laying the foundation stone of the proposed Ram temple at Ayodhya during "dakshinayan" would bode ill for the shrine. Interestingly, the Shankaracharya had initially blessed the endeavour.

If the line goes through, the government would have bought precious time, for it sees its best bet in postponing a controversy should it come to that, till after the poll.

Astrology is a safe line to take, for it is proof even against the law. Should the courts, now looking at the complicated case, decide in favour of the "Hindu" view, the traditionalists could still argue that inaugurating the building effort for the temple be taken up only when "uttarayan" sets in.

The religious leaders are believed to have begun work on the "dakshinayan" — "uttaranayan" syndrome more than a month ago, sources noted. The need for it was felt because the decision of the law courts could not be taken for granted.

A large number of pundits had to be approached for their view to avoid a controversy in an issue which is sensitive and liable to be challenged by interested political groups if the opinion were to come only from a handful of persons enjoying religious authority.

Those mobilising opinion are also understood to have taken the precaution of garnering the views of religious scholars across the country, making it a carefully selected 'random' sample, in order to place the issue beyond challenge.

The only "variable" not taken into account uptil now is the reaction of the minorities — whether, they too, like the government, would be happy for the breather.

THE TIMES OF INDIA, BOMBAY, TUESDAY, AUGUST 8, 1989

THE TIMES OF INDIA

A Thought for Today

The secret of success in life is known only to those who have not succeeded.

— CHURTON COLLINS

Reassuring Findings

The extensive survey on the Babri Masjid-Ram Janmabhoomi dispute conducted by this paper's correspondents and reported in today's issue offers some reassuring findings. Given the prospect of a general election some months from now, there is every danger of the dispute being exploited by political parties to garner votes, even if the communal temperature rises alarmingly as a consequence of doing so. In fact, one of the survey's findings is that voters have no illusions about all political parties, except those on the left, playing communal politics to win electoral gains. Fortunately, the survey indicates that in most of the country, the dispute is not much of an issue. In parts of only three states — U.P., Gujarat and Maharashtra — people feel strongly about it to the point of being divided on religious lines. Even here, moreover, it is among those who are better informed, read newspapers and live in cities and towns that such strong sentiments mostly exist. No less heartening is the discovery that while religious and political leaders are, for obvious reasons, quite worked up about the dispute, the average villager, townsman or city-dweller is rather indifferent to it. What this means in practical terms is that the chances of communal passions riding high on the issue are negligible, unless political parties, aided by religious leaders, go about systematically stirring them up in the coming months.

It is vital for all parties to agree immediately to keep the dispute out of electoral politics altogether. The Janata Dal leader, Mr V. P. Singh, has congratulated the BJP on its apparent decision not to make it a campaign issue. But such a decision should also exclude bringing it up in any form, direct or indirect. For instance, the BJP president, Mr L. K. Advani, said in Madras that the disputed site should be handed over to the Hindus through a negotiated settlement. He also said that the effort by the RSS and the VHP to build a temple there with specially blessed bricks from all over the country would not aggravate communal feelings. Such remarks cast serious doubt on the BJP's professed willingness not to politicise the issue for electoral purposes. Such unanimity by the political parties, which can be attained through a meeting of their representatives convened for the purpose, would completely isolate the extremist groups, Muslim or Hindu, which have a vested interest in keeping the dispute alive. Thus, while the matter is before the Allahabad high court, the VHP has already made it plain that it will not accept its verdict. All the more reason, then, for the VHP and those who think like it to be ostracised by all mainstream parties through a studious refusal to bring the dispute into the arena of electoral politics.

Babri dispute not a major issue

PRE-ELECTION SURVEY 3

COMMUNALISM

Main findings

- ★ In the major part of the country, the Babri Masjid-Ram Janambhoomi controversy is not an issue.
- ★ Clear north-south, urban-rural divide on awareness of the controversy.
- ★ Religious and political leaders perceive the issue to be more widespread and deeply-felt than the average person.
- ★ More heightened sentiments over the issue among educated, newspaper-reading public.
- ★ Has resulted in communal polarisation in parts of UP, Gujarat and Maharashtra where it is likely to be a major electoral factor.
- ★ Except for left parties all political parties expected to play the communal card if it suits them.

Against the background of the Babri Masjid-Ram Janambhoomi controversy, are communal issues likely to play a greater role in the forthcoming elections than earlier ones? TOINS correspondents visited 70 towns and villages in 15 states to find out.

NEW DELHI.

AWARENESS of the Babri Masjid-Ram Janambhoomi dispute and heightened sentiments over it follow a definite pattern in the cities and villages covered in 16 states. Southern states, including Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh, as well as states like West Bengal, Assam and Jammu and Kashmir, have barely been scarred by the controversy.

However, in UP, Gujarat and parts of Maharashtra, the issue evokes strong sentiments, has led to considerable polarisation among the two major communities and is likely to be an important electoral factor.

Even in those states, however, it is more of an issue in the towns and cities rather than in the villages. Within the cities, it is the more educated, newspaper reading public, who is more informed and more agitated.

There is also a distinct divide in perceiving how widespread and deeply-felt the controversy is between religious and political leaders and the common man and woman. The former, all over India, perceive it to be far more prevalent than it seems from the response of the average person.

In an all-Muslim village in North Arcot district, Tamil Nadu, villagers were totally unaware of the dispute. In Bangalore and the villages of the Gulbarga, Hassan and Dakshin Kannada districts of Karnataka, the dispute is a non-issue.

D. G. Sagar, the Dalit Sangharsh Samiti convener of Gulbarga division admitted that the average person was unconcerned about the dispute. His views were endorsed by G. Suresh Prabhu (33) mandal panchayat member in Gurpur village, Dakshin Kannada district.

But the divisional organiser of the RSS in Gulbarga, Mr Manjunathaswamy, insisted that people were widely aware of the controversy and will react when the time comes.

In preparation for the time, he said, the RSS has toured 2,600 villages in 20 taluks of Gulbarga, Bijapur and Bidar, covering people in 1,500 villages.

In Bhopal, the VHP working president, Mr Amarchand Ajmera, a 65-year old retired businessman feels passionately about the Ayodhya issue. But his views were not reflected in the capital and drew a complete blank in the villages of Madhya Pradesh.

In the villages of Prahlad Nagar and Andhanne in Bihar's Noor Sarai block of Nalanda district, most inhabitants were not aware of the controversy and showed little interest in it. Those who had heard about it, like Brijnandan Singh, a graduate farmer who heads the Noor Sarai block committee on the 20-point programme, had either read about it in the papers or heard of it through neighbours or acquaintances who had visited Ayodhya.

See Edit: Reassuring Findings, Page 12

In Kashmir, few villagers are aware of the details of the dispute. As Dr

(Continued on Page 10)

Babri Masjid dispute not a major issue

(Continued from page 1)

Riyaz Punjabi of Kashmir University remarked, only educated people know about it. It has had a marginal impact on the psyche of the common man in urban areas alone.

The Amir of the Jamaat-e-Islami in Jammu and Kashmir, however, maintains that there is widespread awareness and that it has had a lasting impact on the minds of the people.

Again, in Maharashtra, religious leaders like Bhaskar Rao Rabade from Pune are most vociferous about the issue. The VHP campaign, beginning September, to ceremoniously take one brick from every part of the country to Ayodhya to raise the Ram Janambhoomi temple, they point out, will coincide with rising electoral tempo.

They explain that since the Shiv Sena may not raise the Ram Janambhoomi issue in its election campaign, following the adverse Bombay high court judgment in the Vile Parle assembly byelection on charges of communal propaganda, the VHP would embark on its programme of mobilising Hindus.

In Gujarat, preparing for the forthcoming elections, the BJP's "Shakti Rath" with idols of gods and goddeses engraved on it, has toured the state, covering more than 11,000 villages in 19 districts with the message that the party will fight for the rights of the Hindus.

Publicity on the controversy will also be stepped up in the state. Dr Pramod Tagodia, cancer specialist and general secretary of the VHP state unit pointed out that a Ram Janambhoomi Shila pooja' will be launched in 2000 places in Gujarat from September 9.

HINDU AWARENESS

Hindu awareness has definitely increased, said BJP leader, Mr A. B. Vajpayee, while K. L. Sharma, general secretary, BJP, maintained that being against a particular faith is communal. But saying vote for us because we are Hindus is secular.

In the union capital, communalism has two faces. One revolves around the Punjab problem, the other around the Babri Masjid-Ram Janambhoomi issue.

According to a researcher on the subject, the two aspects of communalism are linked by the 1984 riots, which acted as a catalyst to good Hindu aggression. The '84 riots aimed at the Sikhs, gave legitimacy to Hindu aggression in the middle class which snowballed into the rising — though limited — popularity of the VHP.

The walled city, always a hotbed of communalism, is once again agitated over the Babri Masjid-Ram Janambhoomi issue. In resettlement colonies like Trilokpuri the Muslims feel intensely about it, spurred on by the Shahi Imam and Syed Shahabuddin.

According to Syed Mehboob Shah Quadri, a reformist from the Muslim Satyashodhak Mandal in Pune, it almost seems as though there is a competition between Syed Shahabuddin, Maulana Bukhari and others to prove they are the most fundamentalist of all.

In most parts of UP, where mobilisation around the Ram Janambhoomi issue has been going on for the last few years, most people are aware of it. Since Ram raths were launched by Hindu revivalists from Banda three years ago, the controversy has caught the public imagination, said Raj Kumar Kol, a 22-year-old tribal graduate from Semaria village in Banda district.

In UP's Azamgarh district, a communally sensitive region, where the town of Maunath Bhanjan has experienced prolonged communal clashes during the last four years, communal polarisation has taken root.

R. K. Rai, CPI activist, pointed out that though communal clashes have been frequent around Azamgarh passions always subsided after a short time.

Now, he said, it has become a fact of life. The undercurrents of active tension refuse to disappear as local sentiments are continuously being fed by those at the state and national level.

In areas around Kanpur the Ram Janambhoomi-Babri Masjid issue has also led to a polarisation along communal lines but the impact is more pronounced in urban rather than rural areas. In the last few years Kanpur has seen a spurt in communal activities and has become an important centre for the Ram Janambhoomi Mukti Samiti, the Bajrang Dal as well as the Babri Masjid action committee and the Dalit Muslim Mahasangh.

"When political parties have no other platform, they use communalism", says Raghunath Singh, ex-MLA and resident of Shivali, a village in Kanpur *dehat* 38 kms from the city.

The difference in perception between religious leaders and common people whether the issue has led to communal polarisation is sharpest in the districts around Ayodhya — Sultanpur, Gonda and Faizabad. According to religious leaders, communal polarisation has occurred. But according to the average man or woman, it has not.

"Giving subscriptions to the temple and contributing bricks does not mean that we have been swayed by the issue which is being politicised", said Sharda Bax Singh, pradhan of Bisundaspur village in Gonda district.

"The communal harmony of the village is intact and will remain intact." His views are reiterated by Shamoon Ahmed, pradhan of Chirra village as well as the pradhan of Shapur village.

Shakuntala Verma, wife of the Hindi literature, Bhagwati Charan Verma, who lives in Gonda, said that there is no communal polarisation in Gonda, despite the fact that members of both communities would like the shrine to be declared as their place of worship.

Her opinion is echoed by Firoz Khan and Ajay Srivastava, members of the Gonda municipality, as well as by a social worker and school teacher, Nuzhat Jahan. A police officer of Sultanpur said that there is emotional polarisation over the issue, but it does not have a violent and destructive posture.

These views were, however, contradicted by religious leaders of both communities. Mohammad Yunus Siddique, chairman of the Faizabad unit of the Babri Masjid action committee believed that the controversy had become a national issue.

"The issue has increased communal polarisation", said Mr Bhattacharya of Sultanpur and divisional organising secretary of the Hindu Jagran Manch.

In Ballia district, the perceptions of those actively interested in the dispute are even more exctreme. The shrine issue will be the only deciding electoral issue in central, eastern and south eastern districts of U.P., declared Sudhir Kumar, an RSS activist.

Will be forthcoming elections see communal issues playing a larger role than they have in earlier elections? And will they be a response to national, regional or local factors?

Again, as in the case of awareness of the Babri, perceptions of inhabitants in rural and urban areas also varied widely, with villagers in most states not viewing communalism as an electoral factor.

IN GUJARAT

In the Banda, Ballia and Azamgarh districts of UP, as well as in Bahraich and Barabanki districts, communal issues are expected to play a greater role in the forthcoming elections. But in the towns of Faizabad, Gonda and Sultanpur, opinion is divided, with leaders of religious groups and communal parties insisting they would, while other respondents disagreed. In the surrounding villages, however, rural inhabitants didn't believe communal issues will play a significant part.

Similarly, in the villages of Nalanda district, Bihar, apprehension of communal sentiment being provoked at election time was much less than in the urban areas. This was partly explained by the activities of the Indian People's Front in the areas surveyed.

In Gujarat, as the Ahmodabad municipal elections proved, communal issues, especially the Ram Janambhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute, will definitely be drummed up, not only in urban centres like Baroda, Rajkot and Surat, but also in rural areas.

The Ram Janambhoomi-Babri Masjid controversy was used by the BJP as an electoral issue in the Ahmedabad city municipal elections and in the recent by-election in the Hindu-dominated Navrangpura civil ward.

The BJP won with a large margin, on the basis of its high-pitched campaign. Cassettes containing inflammable speeches of a local preacher, Morari Bapu, were distributed, and the campaign was focussed on preserving the Ram Janambhoomi temple at all costs and saving the Hindus from "further humiliation". The BJP emerged as the single largest party in the civil elections and also got a two-thirds majority.

IN MAHARASHTRA

The VHP clarion call to preserve Hindutva at any cost "as Vadibhai Bhaichand Patel, a member of the Gandhinagar district panchayat and Bachubhai Lallubhai Patel, sarpanch of Sardhan village, pointed out, has touched a chord.

Religion will be an important election factor in Maharashtra also since Hindu organisations have openly come out on the subject, say leaders of political parties and religious activists. Kaka Wadke, the Shiv Sena's Pune president said that the crux of their election propaganda would be to unite Hindus to end the "discrimination" against them.

Taheer Poonawala, a Bohra reformist in Pune, said that with Hindus feeling that minorities were being given preferential treatment, the elections were bound to be given a communal colour. Concurred Asgar Ali Engineer, well known Bohra reformist: communal issues will come to the fore during elections in a naked manner.

Sarosh Abdulla Bhure, from Mahapol village, Thane district, Maharashtra, said that the open and intense communal stance of the Shiv Sena, Agri Sena and Muslim League was a new trend. "Those who never talked about religion are now doing so after the dispute over the shrine", agreed Ahilya Rangnekar of the CPM.

In both urban and rural areas of Madhya Pradesh, however, people stated that there has been no spurt in communal activity since the last election. Nor do they expect the forthcoming one to witness an increase.

Similarly, in Tamil Nadu neither the Babri Masjid issue nor the communal situation in the rest of the country has made any deep impact on the state's Muslims who constitute over five per cent of the population. Ejaz Ahmad Aslam, president of the Jamaat-e-Islami Hind attributes this to the fact that state's Muslims have wide business interests (hardware, retail cloth and leather) giving them a higher economic status higher than in other states. In addition he said, "The Muslims share a moderate outlook with other sections of the people of Tamil Nadu. I would go to the extent of saying that even the RSS here is moderate," he commented.

Agreeing with him, the president of the Tamil Nadu Brahmins Association, S. Balasubramanian, points out that because of their relative affluence, the Muslims have an equal interest in maintaining communal amity. Since community leaders in the state were generally from the business class, he said, they can't take issue nearer the electorate.

West Bengal, Assam and Goa are also states where communal issues are not expected to play a large role in the elections. In each area, local rather than national issues are more significant electoral factors.

"While political parties in West Bengal usually put up Hindu or Muslim candidates according to the demographic features of a particular constituency", said Nemai Sudhan Bose, vice-chancellor of Visva Bharati University, "the communal factor plays a less important role here."

Arun Mukherjee, principal of Sriniketan, pointed out that the communal factor in West Bengal is subdued because of the political consciousness of the people. Even A.K.M. Hassanuzaman, the only Indian Union Muslim League member of the state legislative assembly, reiterated that the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid controversy had not increased communal polarisation in the state and communal issues would not be a factor in the parliamentary elections in West Bengal.

FOREIGNERS' ISSUE

In Assam, the primary issue remains the foreign national one and if communal issues come to the fore in the elections they will be a response to purely local, not national, factors. While the Babri Masjid-Ram Janmabhoomi dispute has no relevance to Assam, communal tension in the state surfaces only in respect of immigrant Muslims on issues like revision of electoral rolls. There is total harmony between the non-immigrant Assamese Muslims and Assamese Hindus.

As in the election before the Assam accord was signed, the forthcoming election may acquire a communal overtone in Assam due to the possible non-inclusion of the names of lakhs of immigrant Muslims in the revised electoral rolls.

In Goa, the major issue is the influx of non-Goans and the growing regionalism is not directed towards a conflict between the Hindus and Christians but is manifested in hostility towards outsiders. Suarat Martins, a member of a group called "protectors" formed to safeguard Goa's unity, said none of the national communal parties had a base in Goa. But the vacuum was filled by the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party, the Shiv Sena — which has made a recent emergence on the political canvas of the state — and the Marathi Rajya Bhasha Prasthapan Samity (MRBPS).

KASHMIR FACTORS

In Kashmir, a combination of regional, national and international factors will result in communal issues playing a large role in the forthcoming elections, said Dr Sultan Bhat of the University of Kashmir. He identified the formation and heightened activities of the Jamaat-e-Islami-led Muslim United Front from 1987 and the Shiv Sena as regional forces. The Panthers' Party led by Bhim Singh in Jammu and Mirwaz Moulvi Farooq's Awami action committee are also viewed as regional communal parties.

Barring a handful of political parties — including the communist parties, particularly the CPI, in Punjab, the left front in West Bengal and the Indian people's movement in parts of Bihar — all of them play the communal card: this was the unanimous opinion in the states surveyed. While political parties like the Shiv Sena, BJP, Muslim League and Akali Dal are viewed as blatantly communal, there is widespread cynicism that no political party today desists from playing communal politics.

"Communal elements pervade all political parties," maintained Ram Kumar Bharvava, an advocate from Kanpur. "Everyone talks of secularism but gives different election speeches at different places depending on the electorate."

The border districts of Punjab, like Amritsar and Gurdaspur, which have witnessed serious and irrevocable demographic changes, are a case apart. According to Jugnu Ramaswamy, TV producer who did a film on Punjab last year, from January to June 1988, 7,060 families, i.e. approximately 35,000 people moved from villages to towns. These were official figures according to informal district administration sources, Jugnu said. Ninety per cent of the Hindu population in the border areas had left for towns.

In addition, these areas have witnessed the phenomenon of "swapping", with Sikh families who had lived in U.P. for over 25 years moving to Punjab and Hindu families moving to places including Dudhia and Puranpur. "These major demographic changes are irrevocably changing the complexion of relationships between the two communities, says Ramaswamy. For the Hindus, who once lived in Gurdaspur district, the Shiv Sena slogan "*garve se kaho hum Hindu hai* (say with pride, we are Hindu) is an empty one.

Buta warns Babri agitators

The Times of India News Service

NEW DELHI, August 7.

THE government will not allow anybody to play with law and order situation in the context of the Ram Janambhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute, the home minister, Mr Buta Singh told the Parliament today. He also reiterated that efforts would continue to evolve a negotiated, mutually acceptable solution.

He said so in response to the concern expressed by members in both the Houses over the the reported threat of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) to go ahead with the construction of a temple at the disputed site irrespective of the verdict of the high court which was going into the case.

While the issue came up in the Rajya Sabha for a detailed discussion, spanning over two days, it was raised in the Lok Sabha during the Zero Hour by Mr Saifuddin Soz (National Congress), Syed Shahabuddin (Janata) and Mr G. M. Banatwala (Muslim League).

Mr Soz, as also several members in the Upper House, accused the VHP of spreading anarchy by declaring that it would not accept the court's verdict. He also recalled a recent statement of the BJP president, Mr L. K. Advani, in which he was reported to have said that Muslims should offer Babri Masjid to the Hindu through a negotiated settlement. Mr Banatwala said that transporting of bricks from different parts of the country was creating a volatile situation and should, therefore, be banned.

COMMITTED TO CONSTITUTION

Mr Advani, one of the main speakers from the opposition benches in the Rajya Sabha, stated his party's stand and asserted that the BJP was committed to the Constitution which was wedded to secularism, equality to all religions and freedom of worship. The BJP was in agreement with other parties that nothing should be done that would disrupt communal harmony in the country.

Criticising the government, Mr Advani said it had committed the "greatest blunder" and had done disservice to secularism by amending the Criminal Procedure Code in 1986 after the Supreme Court judgement in the Shahbano case. This had created a communal lobby which started thinking that the Faizabod court verdict in the Ram Janambhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute could also be altered.

He said the government should have adopted the same attitude towards this issue as was adopted by Mr Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Patel towards the famous Somnath Temple in Gujarat immediately after the country attained independence. Quoting from official records, he said Sardar Patel, the then home minister, had announced while visiting the temple site that it would be re-built by the government. It was not the question of Hindus or Muslims but of the "Vandalism of history" which needed to be corrected irrespective of whether it belonged to the Somnath Temple or the Ram Janambhoomi, he said.

CONGRESS BLAMED

Of the large number of speakers on this subject today, the opinions were sharply divided on party lines. However, the opposition members were united in asserting that it was the Congress which was to be blamed for the raise of fundamentalism in the country. The ruling party members made a counter-allegation, charging the opposition with exploiting communal sentiments for narrow political gains.

CASTE AND OUTCAST

The caste system in India was legislatively outlawed in one of India's first actions as a democratic nation. As in our own experiences, the legislating of morality is difficult, at best, and does not really remove the centuries of past practice.

Apartheid of South Africa, America's racial segregation of the 19th and 20th centuries, and India's caste system are at times lumped together. There are similarities in that each is a manifestation of discrimination by one human to another human. The caste system, like South Africa's apartheid, covers/covered every aspect of a person's life. South Africa's system, however, was designed to politically, socially, and economically keep the Black majority powerless. Every person was born into a caste and his/her complete life was regulated by his/her membership in that caste. India's caste system evolved over centuries but was clearly attached to the dominant religion - Hinduism. Perhaps all of this is too wordy and even a bit confusing.

Suffice it to say, it was the basic framework of Indian society, and provided people with a sense of total security. Countless norms, applied to every aspect of life for every caste member, therefore your life was clearly defined. With your reincarnation determined by your observance of the rules, organized religion made its impact felt.

1) A comparison of the European feudal system with the relationship of lords to serfs could be compared to the relationships between various castes in India.

2) As expressed above, a comparison of apartheid, 19th century U.S.A. especially in the south or the 20th century urban north, to the Indian caste system in the form of a chart along political, social, economic lines could be undertaken.

3) For the more sophisticated student our affirmative action programs could be compared to India's scheduled castes receiving "X" number of seats, jobs, positions, etc.

4) Role playing - assign kids to particular castes and tell them several of the rules of/for social interaction. Let the kids feel the slings and arrows of institutionalized prejudice.

Sunday Review

Caste is their only crime

Who says untouchability is a thing of the past? In many parts of the country it still exists, though lawfully banned, due to the need for "scavengers" to service the hundreds of dry latrines used by the population. Institutionally as well as traditionally, untouchables have always been hired to do the job, therefore no amount of government policies to uplift this section of society has helped eradicate this deeply ingrained caste bias.

Bindeshwar Pathak assesses the current status of Harijans.

UNTIL a few years ago, the covers of inland letters used to carry Gandhiji's famous message: "Untouchability is a crime against God and man". The discontinuation of this message and the absence of any organised movement or agitation by untouchables themselves against their plight might suggest the evil no longer exists. Untouchability however, continues to stalk the country.

Despite sustained efforts of the Union and state governments, the number of untouchables has hardly dwindled. The only change that has taken place over the years is that earlier they were openly derided; now under the threat of law, they are treated with reserve bordering on contempt.

It is estimated that there are over 6.5 lakh untouchables who continue to carry nightsoil as headloads as a means of earning their livelihood. Out of 3,245 urban settlements in India, only 217 have sewerage facilities available to just about one-fifth of the population in these centres. Wherever there is no sewerage, there are dry latrines serviced by what are called untouchables.

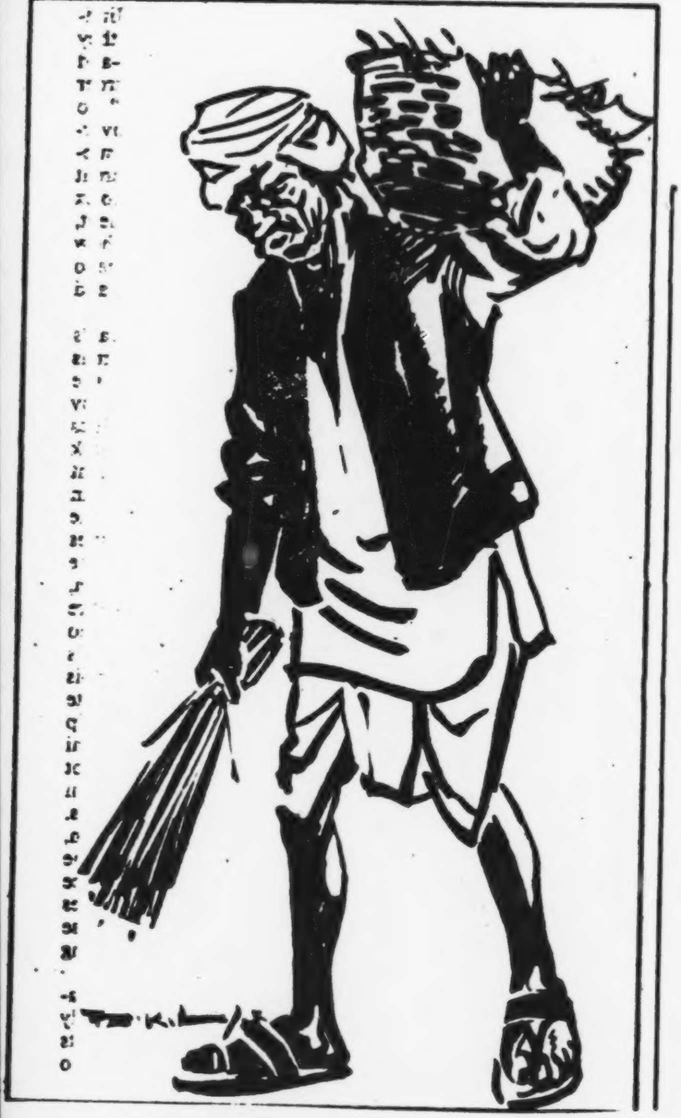
It is little comfort to know that the problem is not unique to India. There are as many as 25 other backward countries, where people depend on dry latrines. But while the total number of people using dry privies in India is about five crore, there are only 1.37 crore people in the rest of the world who have to depend on the services of these "scavengers".

About two lakh untouchables are engaged in clearing nightsoil from as many as 60 lakh bucket privies in the whole country of which five lakh alone are in Delhi. Notwithstanding claims to the contrary, those engaged in this profession continue to be victims of untouchability in one form or the other.

What the Backward Classes Commission wrote about them in 1956 is true even today. The commission had stated: "The condition of *bhangis* is extremely miserable and the betterment of this unfortunate section is one of the crying needs. When compared with the average income of the common people, the earnings of the *bhangis* attached to local bodies and municipalities may not perhaps be very low. Yet the condition of these people is miserable. Drinking and gambling habits, lack of education and lower standard of living are responsible for many of their ills".

Of course, untouchables or their families are no longer denied water from village wells or kept at an arm's length in markets or social gatherings but they continue to suffer due to a deeply ingrained bias against them.

All this flies in the face of Article 17 of the Constitution which provides for the abolition of untouchability. Article 42 requires the states to make provisions for securing just and human conditions of work and Article 46 stipulates that states must promote the interests of the weaker sections, particularly scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and protect them from social injustice.



IN no other country, is scavenging amalgamated with the evil structure of caste and untouchability as is the case in India. The communities engaged in scavenging are at the lowest bottom of the social hierarchy. Caught in the quagmire of miserable living and working conditions, they live in separate localities segregated from the main settlements.

In towns and cities untouchables live in slums, devoid of the basic amenities.

Notwithstanding the socialistic rhetoric of our politicians, scavengers do not have access to the state-sponsored welfare schemes, either due to official apathy or their locational isolation.

Looking at the magnitude of the problem, very little has been done to solve it so far. Under the Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955, untouchability is a crime and nobody can be denied service, on the ground of their profession in a shop, hospital, or any public place or the use of village well or even entry to a temple.

Sometime ago, Swami Agnivesh and subsequently several other organisations engaged in Harijan welfare led a group of them into the famous Nathdwara temple. That there was no organised resistance on the part of casteist Hindus or temple priests to such a publicised show only serves to delude the people about the actual plight of untouchables.

History reveals that household privies were not part of Indian culture and tradition in the past. In the Arthashastra of Kautilya (320 BC) of the Maurya period, defecation in public places or near reservoirs was prohibited.

With the advent of the Muslim era bucket privies were introduced in many houses, mainly for the convenience of women in purdah. Consequently, the lowest castes or POWs were assigned the meanest task of scavenging. With subsequent urbanisation, the system increased rapidly and has brought in the present chaotic situation.

Although the eradication of scavenging and rehabilitation of scavengers have now been included in the revised 20-point programme, the approach of the authorities to the problem remains muddled. For instance, if the government really wants to end the evil, why should municipal bodies all over the country keep scavengers on their pay roll? Instead they should embark on vigorous programme for conversion of dry privies into sanitary toilets.

The availability of scavengers who do not charge much for their services mainly because of the salaries they receive from local bodies acts as a disincentive for the people to go in for conversion of dry privies into other forms of toilets involving leaching pits or septic tanks.

It is estimated that now about Rs 15 to Rs 16 crores are being spent by the Central and state governments on the welfare of scavengers and for financing dry toilet conversion programmes. This sum, however, is insufficient if scavenging is to be eradicated by the end of this century because with the present rate of conversions, it will take more than half a century to eliminate scavenging.

In the sixth and seventh five-year plans there was a provision for Rs 4,690 crore for urban water supply and sewerage, of which nearly Rs 938 crore were for sewerage. A major portion of this could have been diverted to the conversion programme by not taking up any towns for sewerage but concentrating only on rehabilitaion of existing sewerage where it is absolutely needed.

Attempts have been made in the past to improve the working conditions of scavengers. They were provided with gloves, gum boots, collection implements, covered buckets and wheel barrows. During the Gandhi centenary year in 1969, the emphasis was on the emancipation of scavengers. The government offered 25 per cent subsidy and 75 per cent loan for conversion of dry latrines into a water flush toilet and its connection to public sewer.

Another attempt was made to end the system by promoting a special campaign for conversion of dry privies into water flush units. The state governments were specifically asked not to allow construction of new buildings without water flush toilets. In the unsewered areas, it was suggested, septic tanks or leach pits should be provided for converting dry latrines into water flush units.

In the fifth five-year plan in 1975 state governments were asked to provide community collection tanks and carriage of their contents in mobile vacuum tankers to oxidation ponds for leaching. Some 30 towns were selected in the country and provided 100 per cent grant for this provision. But this scheme was also not successful in ending the evil.

WHEREVER voluntary social organisations stepped in, the government's efforts started showing some results. For instance, the pioneering work done by the Harijan Sevak Sangh in Gujarat succeeded in large-scale conversions of bucket privies into flush systems. Similarly useful service was rendered by the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi in Maharashtra. Bihar provided another instance of a major dynamic nature. The Bihar Gandhi centenary committee gave top priority to the Bhangi Mukti Programme and also identified latrine conversion as the quickest and most effective way of achieving the objective.

With the emergence of Sulabh Shauchalaya Sansthan (Sulabh International) as a dynamic voluntary body with a nucleus of dedicated workers, the programme made much headway from 1973.

There are nearly 60 lakh bucket privies in the country. The average cost of conversion is about Rs 1,700 per unit. Considering the escalation of prices, the average cost of conversions

THE TIMES OF INDIA, SUNDAY JULY 9, 1989

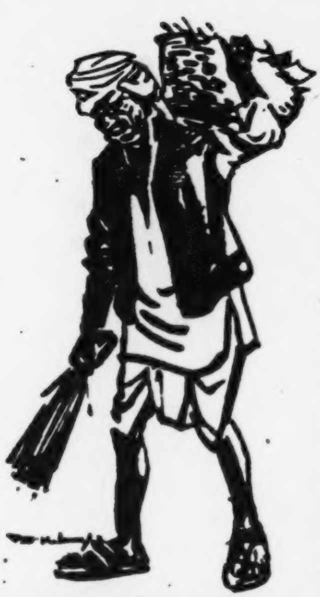
may be assumed at Rs 2,000. Thus the total cost of conversion would be about Rs 1,200 crore.

Experience shows that the cost of rehabilitating scavengers would be about 33 per cent of this amount. Thus a total sum of Rs 1,600 crore will be needed for the programme to eradicate scavenging in the country.

Under the Centrally-sponsored schemes for liberation of scavengers, the ministry of welfare, GOI, has released nearly Rs 32.5 crore as grant-in-aid from 1980-81 to March 1988 for converting bucket privies to pour flush waterseal units to 18 states and three Union territories. Provision made in the seventh plan under the Centrally-sponsored schemes for scavengers is Rs 39 crores. In addition, many states are also financing toilet conversion programmes from their own funds.

Attempts have been made in the past to improve the working conditions of scavengers. They were provided with gloves, gum boots, collection implements, covered buckets and wheel barrows. During the Gandhi centenary year in 1969, the government offered 25 per cent subsidy and 75 per cent loan for conversion of dry latrines into water flush toilets.

However, it is unfortunate that attempts to eradicate scavenging cannot succeed easily for the evil continues to be institutionalised in many places. The urban householder with a bucket latrine system looks upon it as a necessary evil.



Where the conservancy service is heavily subsidised by the municipality by paying scavengers a monthly salary (they are also paid by the individual household, although illegally) the local body itself is making scavenging financially more attractive. The fact that their salary per month is met from the general revenue of the local body contributed by the same house-owners as property tax and other levies is seldom realised.

Unless the cost of conversion into a water-seal latrine is heavily subsidised, it would be difficult to persuade the householder to switch over to any sanitary system. Even if loans and subsidies are offered, the various procedural formalities are too cumbersome and time-consuming.

Also, there is considerable scepticism about the design and working of the cheaper hand-flush toilet system. Another reason for reluctance on the part of the householder is the low cost of maintaining and clearing the dry toilets at some places.

Why can't our social scientists and sundry other experts advise the government on measures that can end the curse of generations on scavengers? In March 1983 the then Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, while replying to a question on the need for abolition of scavenging, told Parliament: "Everybody is conscious of this fact, and we have discussed this many times and there is no doubt that this is a disgrace and it should be eradicated as early as possible. You cannot ban a thing unless you provide an alternative to it..." But how long will the government take?

9 hurt in caste clash

Express News Service

Tiruchi, July 24: Nine persons were injured in clashes between caste Hindus and Harijans at Olappaadi village, near Kunnam in Perambalur taluk, about 55 km from here, on Sunday afternoon. Three houses in the Harijan colony were also damaged.

Forty two persons — 22 Harijans and 20 caste Hindus — were arrested in this connection. Police pickets have been posted at the village.

It is learnt that the two groups had differences over laying a pathway to the Harijan burial ground. The Hindus alleged that the Harijans had taken more land than that earmarked by revenue officials in for the pathway.

On Sunday, some caste Hindus had allegedly teased two Harijan girls passing through their streets. This sparked the clash and two groups of about 100 each pelted stones at each other.

Seven Harijans and two caste Hindus were hurt in the melee.

Tiruchi SP K.Thukkayandi and the Ariyalur RDO visited the spot.

Efforts to convene a peace committee meeting are now on.

Tackle the basic causes

THE naxalite problem in Andhra Pradesh shows no sign of abating in spite of Mr. Rama Rao's announcement of an amnesty and the consequential surrender of some of the activists. The latest incident is the kidnapping and subsequent release of Mr. Raji Reddi, Mandal Praja Parishad president in Warangal district. The naxalites who had kidnapped him demanded a judicial inquiry into the disappearance of two of their members who, according to them, had been arrested last December and are feared to have been subsequently done to death by the police. Mr. Reddy's release followed the government announcement of a judicial inquiry. There had been similar kidnappings earlier. One of the kidnapped persons, Mr. Malhar Rao, was killed by his captors when the demand was not conceded.

The kidnappings highlight a problem that has been plaguing Andhra Pradesh for quite some time. This is the disappearance of activists, generally naxalites, taken into or believed to be in police custody. A variant of this is the death of such activists in 'encounters' with the police. In the present case, the government consistently denied that the two activists had ever been in police custody and turned down all demands for a judicial inquiry. Four kidnappings and one killing later, it has relented. This is neither good tactics nor good governance. If the government thought there was anything suspicious about the circumstances of the disappearance of the two activists, an inquiry should have been ordered much earlier. To concede such a demand under duress does not speak well of the government's functioning. The fundamental causes that give rise to the naxalite movement have to be tackled. The amnesty is a step in the right direction but the state government must go much farther.

Indian Express 7.26

11122 vacancies for SCs in Delhi Admn

Express News Service

NEW DELHI. Aug 1

The Delhi Administration has a backlog of 11.122 posts reserved for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes which have remained vacant for several years now. the Chief Executive Councillor. Mr Jag Parvesh Chandra said.

Mr Chandra was making a statement on a calling attention motion in the Metropolitan Council House on Tuesday. The motion was brought together by Mr Babu Ram Solanki. Mr Bhonri Lal Shastri. Mr Gurbax Singh. Mr R N Chandeliya and Mr P C Kaushik on the situation arising in the Administration due to backlog in the representation of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe candidates in the Administration services.

Giving a breakup. Mr Chandra said that the total strength of employees in the Delhi Administration. including the police services. was 85.000 while there was a backlog of 1,369 Scheduled Caste and 2.018 Scheduled Tribe posts vacant in the Administration.

In the local bodies similarly the total employees strength was over 1.20 lakh and a total backlog of 6.879 Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe posts to be filled.

The employees' strength in autonomous bodies was 3.173. excluding daily wage earners. and a backlog of 832 Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe vacancies required to be filled up.

The Chief Executive Councillor said that the 1969 Roster Plan suggested by the Central Government had not been strictly adhered to.

Mr Chandra said that since the 1969 roster system had not been strictly adhered to and this had resulted in accumulation of a huge backlog. the Central Government had sent a countrywide directive and a drive was on to fill up these vacancies as well as to systematise the roster and not allow any more backlogs.

He assured that the Administration would pressurise aided schools of the Delhi Administration to fill up reserved vacancies.

Earlier during the question hour too the members grilled the Executive Councillor (Education). Mr Kulanand Bharatiya. on the inability of the Education Department to fill up reserved posts of teachers. vice-principals and principals.

Replying to a question Mr Kulanand Bharatiya said that by the end of August the Administration would appoint 776 Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe teachers. He also assured that in case Scheduled Tribe candidates were not available against a reserved post. a Scheduled Tribe candidate might be considered without dereserving the post and vice versa.

He also said that the Administration was considering simplifying rules to appoint teachers in the reserved quota.

The House ran smoothly and adjourned early what with the Opposition benches vacant but for a short while immediately after the question hour.

The lone BJP member. Mr Karan Singh Tanwar. who could not be suspended on Monday walked into the House much to the consternation and embarrassment of almost all the Treasury members. including the Chairman himself.

Mr Tanwar walked into the House and asked the Chairman why his colleagues had been turned out of the House. The Chairman and the ruling party members lost no time and at the hint from the Chairman. Mr Nand Lal Chaudhry moved a resolution seeking Mr Tanwar's suspension. Immediately the Chairman put it vote and signalled the marshals. who lifted Mr Tanwar and took him out of the House.

While leaving the House Mr Tanwar raised slogan: "Rajiv Gandhi chor hai".

Interestingly Mr Tanwar had given little cause to the Chairman on Tuesday in comparison to what had been happening in the House in the previous days.

PROBLEMS APLENTY

I face traffic jams daily; I "bitch" about increasing local taxes. I understand, to a degree, the environmental issues, and I attempt to do my bit by trying to save the pandas, giving money to Greenpeace, Nature Conservancy, etc., and placing my papers in appropriate receptacles to be collected by the town. The plight of the homeless in the cities concerns me; crime statistics frighten this burgled homeowner; the crumbling infrastructure of our urban areas are bumped, jostled into my head as I cross the 59th Street Bridge.

When seeing and reading about the problems facing the Subcontinent's nations, it placed in quick perspective the horn blaring on the Long Island Expressway and my $700 increase in taxes. India has all the problems we have plus some. Of course, elephants rampaging through farmland receives a universal chuckle. However, third world nations have problems uniquely theirs and we should come to grips and try to understand their plight: child bondage, slavery, sterilization deaths, diarrhea deaths, overflowing sewers, infant deaths in hospital cribs, police brutality, drug abuse, teacher strikes, bus fatalities.

1) Have the students make a list of the problems facing our society, and using these newspaper clippings identify the ones facing India.

2) Have each student select a problem facing India, and present it to the class with possible solutions.

3) Collect articles from the local papers about problems facing our society, and see if India is facing any similar ones.

844 sterilisation deaths

NEW DELHI, August 1.

NEARLY 844 people have died as a result of sterilisation during the last three years, the minister of state for health, Mr Rafique Alam said in a written reply in the Rajya Sabha, report agencies.

He said 447 people died in 1986-87 and 397 in 1987-88. A sum of Rs. 10,000 was paid to legal heirs of the deceased. The government was considering requests received from the states to increase the amount of ex-gratia.

Dismal failure?

Washington, July 20 (PTI): The Indian family planning programme, which gobbled up a whopping 24 billion rupees till the end of the Sixth Plan, had been "a dismal failure," says Pradeep S. Mehta, general secretary of the Consumer Unity and Trust Society (CUTS).

In a paper presented to the general assembly of the World Future Society, he said 38 years after launching the programme, India's population was still increasing at 17 million a year.

The main reason for the failure was that vasectomy operations were unpopular, as men feared loss of strength and libido. Therefore, women were forced to undergo tubectomy.

A study conducted in Rajasthan showed that the women who underwent the operation, "besides being treated like cattle," were not even paid the promised sum.

In March 1989, the Rajasthan Government admitted there had been 94 female deaths in family planning operations during the last three years.

A fifth of the 132 camps, surveyed by the Indian Council of Medical Research, did not have life-saving drugs and screening for detection of anaemia, hypertension and diabetes. In one-third of these, the equipment used for surgery were either not sterilised or imporperly sterilised.

12 killed in mishap

DHAKA, (PTI): At least 12 people were killed and eight injured in a bus accident on Dhaka-Chittagong highway in Brahmanbaria district today, official sources said. Another report said eight people were killed 50 m. after a road bridge on a canal collapsed in northern district of Jamalpur on Thursday last.

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7 killed in accident

BILASPUR, (MP) (UNI): Seven people, including two women and a child, were killed and 20 injured, when a mini – truck carrying passengers dashed against a tree at Sakri village near here yesterday, police today said.

In Bondage, Child Labor Thrives in India's Brutal Poverty

By Richard M. Weintraub

Washington Post Service

NEW DELHI — The knot of boys sat in the shadow of a small brick building, shielded from the blistering June sun but not from the wilting heat it generated.

For eight hours a day, six days a week, they sit, their faces and ragged clothes blackened by polishing agents, turning out the nickel-covered plates and cups that are the staple of the Indian table.

Aftab Aziz is 16 years old and already a veteran of the polishing crew. He began work at age 14, as did many of the others. Two members of the crew appeared to be 10 or 12 years old. For their work, they can expect to start at 200 rupees ($12) a month, a few rupees above the poverty line of 134 rupees.

But the poverty line in India is too low for families to live on, and these children rarely make much more.

Across the country of more than 800 million people, ignorance, tradition and, above all, crushing poverty, have forced millions of children, some as young as 5 years old, into the workplace. Some are virtual slaves, bonded to a farmer or handicraft artisan or small shopkeeper by parents so desperate that, in effect, they sell their children so the family can eat.

In northeast India near Varanasi, for example, as many as 150,000 children weave carpets. An expert in the region said that at least 15,000 of these children are bonded labor working without pay.

Child labor is a fact of life in many developing countries, but nowhere is the problem greater than in India, if only because of its huge population. According to the last official census, there were more than 11 million children under the age of 14 in the labor force.

And other studies by nongovernmental groups have put the figure at 40 million or higher.

For many of the children, school is something only for the offspring of the privileged. Playtime for the poor, if there is any, is squeezed into the only free hour or two they have each day.

Perhaps 10 percent work in glass factories, slate mines, gem-polishing factories or carpet factories.

But most of the children work in what is called the "unorganized" sector of the economy, as dishwashers, street hawkers,

See CHILD, Page 2

CHILD: *Bondage of India's Poor*

(Continued from Page 1)

tea boys, tire or motor repairmen, cleaners of floors and toilets. And the vast majority work as agricultural laborers in a country that is still 80 percent rural.

It is one of the striking contrasts of contemporary Indian society that for every child of the newly emerging middle class there are four who remain at or below the official poverty line.

Soraju, 13, and his older brother provide the only support for their family in Jehangirpuri, a densely packed neighborhood on the northern edge of New Delhi, about an hour from the wide boulevards around Parliament and major federal buildings.

Soraju has been working as a ragpicker for six or seven years. He used to earn about 5 rupees a day, but now he gets 15 rupees.

"I give it all to mother," he said. "My older brother makes trouble sometimes, though, and doesn't give the money."

Many of the 700 families in Jehangirpuri make their living by ragpicking, one of the few jobs open to the group of poor Bengali Muslims who came to New Delhi in the early 1970s.

They initially settled in makeshift slums east of the city, but the New Delhi administration moved them to the newly built Jehangirpuri, where they could buy two-room brick huts for about 200 rupees a month, paid out over 10 or 12 years.

Every morning, sometimes as early as 3 A.M., the children of Jehangirpuri spread out across the city. For 10 or 15 rupees a day, they undergo constant harassment from the police and suspicion from residents of more affluent communities.

Salim, 19, said the children's biggest problem is the police.

"We get beaten up all the time," he said. "If there is any robbery, they blame us, and if we end up at the station, we have to pay 200 or 300 rupees to get out."

Despite the millions of working children, the government has passed only limited legislation dealing with the issue. The majority of working children are not protected at all. Others find the conditions of their work theoretically regulated, but not prohibited.

Officials have conceded that the enforcement of the legislation is difficult.

An official for an international organization said the 1986 Child Labor Act had been aimed at preventing hazardous work and at alleviating work conditions in other areas.

"But how do you enforce it?" the official asked. "Parents need money, and children will go to work."

Under the Child Labor Act, employment of children under the age of 14 is prohibited in certain hazardous industries, such as mining, construction and transportation. In other industries, work is limited to six hours with an hour of rest and is banned between 7 P.M. and 8 A.M.

But, at best, the act covers only about 20 percent of the child workers in India, and it has spawned a debate in which critics charge that by regulating work conditions for some children, the government is sanctioning child labor.

A key policymaker in the Ministry of Labor, Meena Gupta, said the government was developing experimental programs under which inspectors would be appointed to deal only with child labor.

And with special funds from international organizations, the government is also developing model schools and welfare programs in 10 cities known for their high levels of child labor. But critics have charged that the programs are slow to get off the ground and only touch a limited number of children.

Another pattern of slavery

NEW DELHI, July 6 (PTI)

Balika Tukaram Dandgole, Sukhrajwa, Sunita Hirachand, Bhagmania and Sukhram from India and Pakistan's Zia and Abbas have one thing in common: they are bonded child labourers deprived of innocent joys and rights of childhood.

Life is harsh for them. They have to toil for long hours, sometimes stretching upto twenty, to eke out a meagre living.

Their blank faces, vacant looks, lean and emaciated frames, tell the untold story of millions of such hapless, nameless and faceless child bonded labourers of South Asia.

According to statistics, there are about 20 million child labourers in South Asia, of which 7.5 million are bonded. They are children mostly below seven. They work as rag-pickers, beggars, brick-kiln workers, carpet weavers, lottery sellers, messeurs in jails or child-prostitutes.

Noted human rights activist, Swami Agnivesh, working for the liberation of child bonded labourers from South Asian countries said, these children were 'specifically brought here to record their testimonies in the five-day South Asia seminar on child servitude that concluded here on Tuesday.

The testimonies of child bonded labours from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal, recorded before distinguished jurists, including former Supreme Court judge, Mr V. R. Krishna Iyer, reveal their tale of pain and misery.

Nine-year-old Sukhrajwa is quiet and sullen. She is reluctant to speak but her tell-tale eyes reveal everything – her sorry plight and helplessness.

With her short and unkempt hair, bleeding ear, swoolen eyes and yellow teeth, Sukhrajwa presents a said picture. Her dress – a torn shirt over an underwear and a tattered muffler hanging from the neck – is a ploy to hide her gender for fear of sexual exploitation, which again is not an uncommon thing with child labourers.

Bhagmania, 14, is also a child bonded labourer. She has been working as a carpet weavers since early childhood. She earns less than one and half kilograms of wheat daily.

Abbas and Zia of Pakistan are representative of millions of child labourers working in brick kilns, carpet industry, agriculture, power looms, shoe industry and cottage industries like beedi manufacture. They are no different from their counterparts here in India or elsewhere in the region. They also work hard and are poor and uneducated.

The plight of these children compounded with the element of bondage, restriction on freedom of movement and torture, becomes the most heinous crime against childhood and humanity.

Justice P. N. Bhagwati, former Chief Justice of India, said: Bonded labours are non-beings, exiles of civilisation, living a life worse than that of animals... not having any choice, they are driven poverty and hunger into a life of bondage."

The International Labour Conference 1983, classified child work in five categories namely (A) domestic work such as cleaning, cooking, washing etc, (B) non-domestic work-non-monetary work such as fuel and water collection in fuel and running errands, guarding goods, marketing etc in urban sector, (C) bonded labour where child workers are kept in bondage because of their family's or individual debt, (D) wage employment where children work on daily wages in domestic, agricultural or industrial activity; and (E) marginal work it may be irregular or of short term nature such as shoeshining or rag-picking etc.

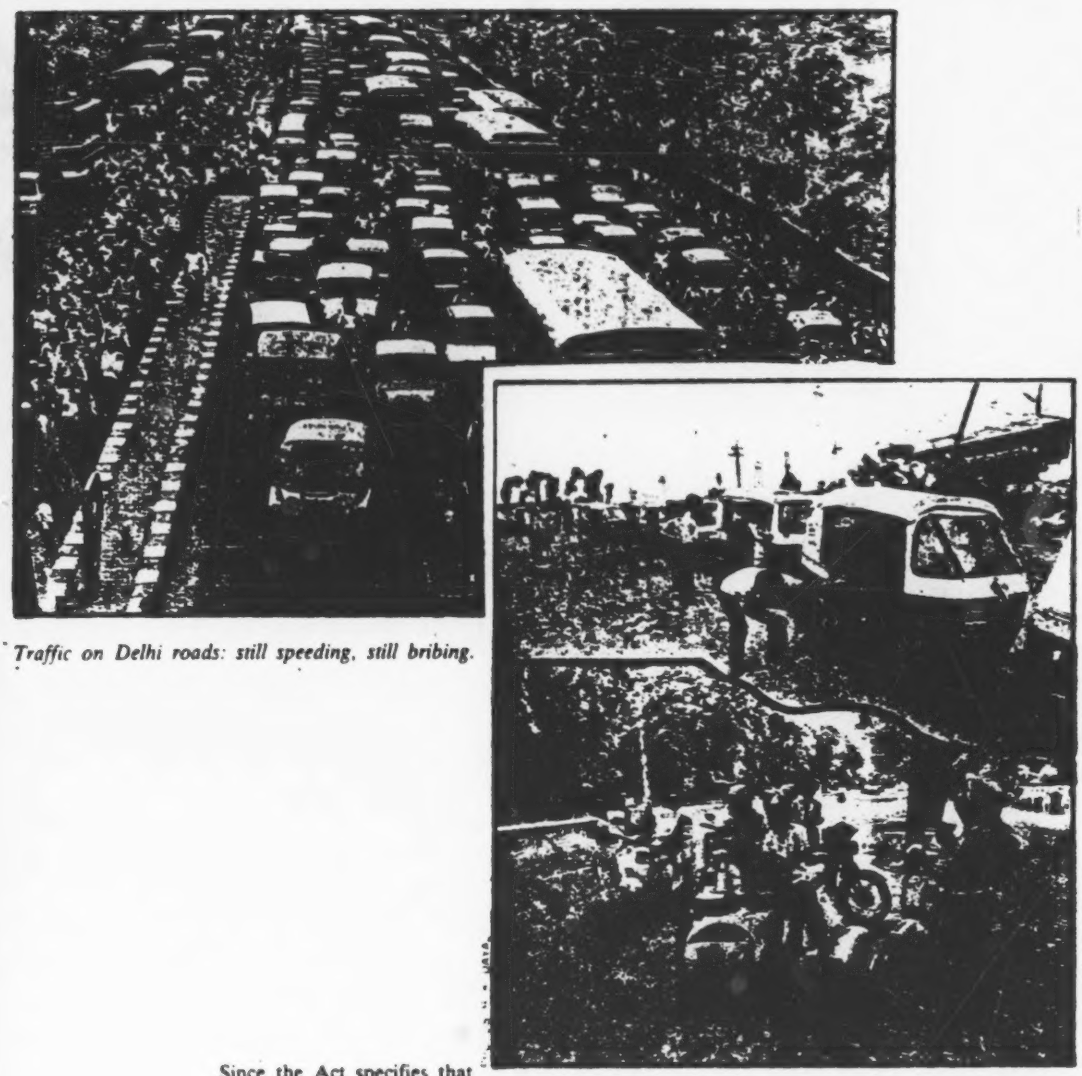
The child bonded labour system can be further classified into two parts: inherent bondage and children subjected to bondage. Due to extremely low wages or no wages except food, enormous rate of interest, illiteracy and ignorance, the poor helpless people get tied down to a vicious circle of indebtedness for generations together. As a result, millions are bonded even before they are born.

Even constitutional provisions and legislations have failed to wipe out this scourge. The practise is continuing despite the article four of the universal declaration of human rights which says: " No one shall be held in slavery or servitude in all their forms".

In India, Article 23 of the Constitution ensures that "trafficking in human beings and beggars and other forms of forced labour is prohibited" and specific law "bonded labour system Abolition Act, 1976", not only bans the system completely, but declares it as a cognisable offence punishable with three years imprisonment of the bonded labour keeper.

Unlike India, the Supreme Court of Pakistan had not yet laid down a precise and comprehensive definition of the bonded labour, according to Mr Ehsanullah Khan of the Bonded Liberation Front of Pakistan.

Mr Khan said despite assurance by Ms Benazir Bhutto, no practical step had been taken in this direction. The Front had set September 18 as the deadline when it planned to hold a human chain demonstration throughout the country from Karachi to Islamabad and Peshawar to Quetta to highlight the issue.



Traffic on Delhi roads: still speeding, still bribing.

Since the Act specifies that permanent driving licences will only be made through motor driving schools, it ought to be good for their business. But the driving schools are not exactly thrilled. Says Surinder Singh, owner of the Johar Motor Driving School in Gautam Nagar, "We don't feel this Act is good for our business. We used to get around 20 learner's licences made every day. Since this Act has come into force we have made just five in 20 days. This seems like an election stunt. Touts are being cut off, but till when?"

If Mukesh Bhardwaj's, a sales executive in a Connaught Place firm, experience is any guide they are still around, and have doubled their rates. "Two months ago the tout I approached asked for Rs. 200 for making my permanent licence. Since the implementation of the Act he has hiked his fees to Rs. 400. Too much danger now," he says. Bhardwaj has already flunked the test for road signs. But he managed to get his learner's licence after paying Rs. 30 to a doctor and Rs. 25 to a tout. He says he forked out a total of Rs. 90 compared to Rs. 10 earlier.

Meanwhile another strong traffic lobby, autorickshaw and taxi drivers are wailing that the new Act will have them all starving. They are protesting the increase in the fitness fee from Rs. 5 to Rs. 100, the Rs. 50 penalty for refusing to carry a passenger, the mandatory fitness check for their vehicles every six months and the exorbitant fines for traffic offences. Protests Ramesh Ahuja, President of the Three Wheeler, Autorickshaw, Tempo and Taxi Union, "Which auto driver can pay up Rs. 1000? The Act is atrocious on the poor. Even the insurance fees have rocketed from Rs. 120 to Rs. 340, and they have even done away with third party insurance."

> ***"Before I used to jump every red light. Who wants to be challaned Rs 1000 or 2000? My bike automatically stops metres before the stop line as if there is a chasm beyond it."***
>
> **Ujwal Thakur, a law student**

Auto and taxi drivers also protest that the re-test required causes them indefinite loss of livelihood. Says Ahuja, "Earlier we just had to submit an FIR and we used to be issued a duplicate licence. Now we have to take the test again, get clearance and all other formalities, give bribes, and even then it takes more than a month. What does the driver eat for a month?"

Karnail Singh, a DLY driver mourns that if they even so much as touch the stop line they are challaned. "I earn Rs. 900 a month. I cannot pay a challan of Rs. 1000 or Rs. 500 and still have money to eat." But even he thinks that the crackdown on issuing of licences is a good step. "It was really getting pathetic, the number of novices driving on the roads. At least only those who can drive well will be issued licences now."

Kulwant Singh, a three-wheeler driver says he doesn't see how he can avoid being challaned at least once a month. He says he is seriously thinking of quitting being self-employed and seeking a driver's job with a company.

The new Motor Vehicles Act has also made it mandatory for scooters to have indicators. But Bajaj for instance does not put indicators on its scooters. And the transport authority is no longer registering scooters which do not have indicators on them. What you have then is scooter dealers who are climbing walls.

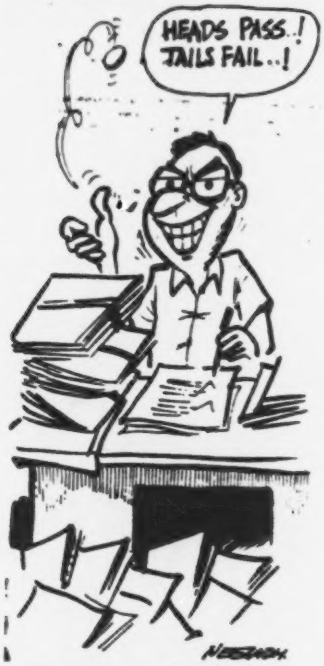
Rajan Malik who has a dealership in Karol Bagh, splutters that this move on the part of the authorities is really stupid. "We can't go about drilling holes in the chassis of all the scooters! The customers won't buy them. But the Act says the indicators have to be inbuilt. How can they be inbuilt when the company makes no provision for the attachment of indicators?"

He cannot see that in principle, it makes better road sense for all vehicles to have indicators. This part of the Act must be retracted at once, he says. In the first month of its implementation, at the first taste of discipline, the Act has a whole host of lobbies screaming for its retraction.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Shocking result

Sir — We, the students at B.A. (Hons) History, Part-1 (South Campus), were shocked at our results. For, nearly 75 per cent of the students from South Campus failed the examination and those who did pass, secured only 40-45 per cent marks. Many students who were expected to secure good marks, did not get more than 49 per cent.


HEADS PASS..!
TAILS FAIL..!

The argument that in the wake of the Delhi University teachers' strike, each examiner examined many more answer books than the normal, and therefore, could not do justice to the evaluation, is probably true.

We have also learnt that some M.Phil students of Delhi University were called in for evaluation work. This is in gross violation of the University rules.

Even if the answer books have been evaluated only by teachers, some mistake appears to have crept in at some stage. We are not challenging the competence of our teachers, but we are forced to question the standards of evaluation.

We request the Vice-chancellor of Delhi University to get the answer books re-evaluated and save the careers of the hundreds of students.

Test cancelled

VARANASI, July 31. — The premedical test of the Banaras Hindu University held last month was cancelled today following alleged leakage of question papers, reports UNI.

The executive council today resolved that the test be cancelled to maintain credibility and held again at an early date.

The executive council further authorized the Vice-Chancellor to constitute a high-powered committee to inquire into the affair.

Campaign against violence on campus

Express News Service

NEW DELHI, July 31

Various sections of students, teachers and karamcharis of Delhi University, Jawaharlal Nehru University and Jamia Millia have come together to organise a campaign against the recent trend of goondaism and violence on the campuses.

Talking to newsmen here on Monday, their representative said the campaign would involve holding public meetings, contact programmes in colleges, and end with a "silent march" on August 3 on the main campus.

This violence, they said, recently took the form of an attack on a seminar that was being addressed by the CPI(M) leader, Mr E. M. S. Namboodiripad, at the Delhi School of Economics by NSUI students.

During the campaign, leaflets will be distributed in colleges by joint student-teacher-karamchari teams.

The press conference was addressed by the president of the Democratic Teachers' Front (DTF), Mr M. A. Jawed; ex-DUTA president from DTF, Mr M. M. P. Singh; secretary, Students' Federation of India (SFI), Mr Dayaram Yadav; the president of the JNU Students' Union (JNUSU), Mr Surajit Mazumdar; and the Delhi University Karamcharis' Front leader, Mr Gopaldutt.

In the past, they said, NSUI goondaism used to be confined to hooliganism, attempts to terrorise opponents during college and university elections, organised attempts at cheating during examinations, and manipulations in admissions.

Now, the NSUI has "graduated" beyond mere hooliganism and become the "sword" of the ruling party to curb democratic processes on campuses and outside. Last year, the opposition leader, Mr V. P. Singh, had been attacked by NSUI men on the campus, and this year, Mr Namboodiripad. There had been reports from Bombay that NSUI activists had gheraoed two campuses in their attempt to terrorise members of Parliament who had resigned from Parliament recently.

Students' protest

DHANBAD, July 28. — Stone-throwing student protesters attacked the Collectorate building here today, smashed window panes, broke furniture and made an abortive attempt to set fire to scooters parked inside the office premises.

The Deputy Commissioner, Mr Ram Sevak Sharma, said four constables, six magistrates and an Additional District Magistrate were injured. One constable was admitted to hospital in a critical condition. Some journalists who were at the spot were also beaten up by the police. The students were protesting against the alleged lathi-charge by the police on them last Wednesday.— Correspondent.

ASTROLOGICAL

FAMOUS Astrologer, Pandit B.N. Shastri will foretell accurately about your life, on headlines, Palmliues & horoscope. Contact for guidance- 8 A.M. to 12 A.M., 2 to 7 P.M. Mewad Lodging Boarding, Room No. 23, Opp. Anjali Talkies, Nageshwarwadi, Aurangabad. (1446)

‘Seven lakh drug addicts in India’

WASHINGTON, Aug 3 (UNI)
There are nearly 700,000 drug addicts in India and as many in Pakistan, according to a US official.

Thailand is believed to have 250,000 addicts and Iran one to two million, the US Assistant Secretary of State for International Narcotics Matters, Mr Melvyn Levitsky, said on Tuesday while testifying before the House Select Committee on Drug Abuse and Control.

He said countries where addiction might be least expected were reporting growing problems of addiction – Saudi Arabia, Sri Lanka, the Philippines, Spain, Italy, Germany and Britain each have more than 100,000 addicts.

Pakistan had almost no addicts 10 years ago. Iran had reported 100,000 addicts in 1979 but now the problem is very serious.

Mr Levitsky also noted that the Soviets have also developed a "tremendous problem" stemming from their military occupation of Afghanistan.

"We have to create a kind of international ethic" that says the international community will not grow, produce, use or traffic drugs, he said.

He said the US policy on combating drugs should have a high priority in any relationship with allies or friends.

In cooperating countries, including Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia and Pakistan, he said, the United States was providing training and equipment to established institutions such as the local police.

In Pakistan, Mr Levitsky said, a promising pilot project was underway to help develop a special anti-narcotics task force which could be adaptable to other countries as well.

When the Prime Minister, Mrs Benazir Bhutto, was here the United States agreed to assist in establishing a programme in Pakistan to identify big drug traffickers. "I think Pakistan is very serious about this," he added.

Mr Levitsky said there has been an explosion of opium growing in areas of the world where the United States had no diplomatic contact or means of control, including areas of Afghanistan, Laos and Burma.

Diarrhoea deaths

VARANASI, Aug 3. —Fifteen people have died of diarrhoea and gastro enteritis in Varanasi district during the past two months, reports UNI.

The Chief Medical Officer, Dr J. N. Gupta, said in a release that 634 patients of gastro enteritis and diarrhoea were admitted to the infectious disease hospital between June 1 and July 28. Of them, 14 died of diarrhoea and one from gastro enteritis.

Dr Gupta said the district administration had taken various preventive measures, including cholera innoculation, providing clean water supply and cleaning of accumulated water.

ILLITERACY - Women outnumber men in illiteracy in the country. India has 424,256,000 illiterates, of whom 241,611,145 are women, the Human Resource Development Minister, Mr P. Shiv Shanker, told the Lok Sabha in a written answer. Uttar Pradesh tops the list of states in total number of illiterates (80,756,753). It is followed by Bihar with a total number of illiterales

CITY

Whose responsibility?

Sewers overflowing in Yamuna Vihar

By BHAVDEEP KANG
Express News Service

NEW DELHI, Aug 1

Although the sewerage system in Yamuna Vihar, a sprawling East Delhi colony, has almost collapsed, neither the MCD nor DDA are willing to take responsibility for it.

Conditions in the colony were so bad, with overflowing sewers and blocked drains, that the MCD had refused to take over the colony at DDA's request earlier this year, at least until the monsoon was over.

It was only at the personal intervention of the Lt-Governor, Mr Romesh Bhandari, that the MCD took over Yamuna Vihar's sewerage system. But it specified that if the system collapsed, the corporation could not be held responsible.

Residents of Yamuna Vihar feel that they are in the same position as the resettlement colonies last year with neither of the civic authorities being held accountable for the failure of sewage facilities.

In the fortnight since the MCD took over, its staff has received ten or more complaints every day. The assigned labour force of nine is finding it hard to cope with the complaints.

According to a resident, sewers and drains had not been cleaned for months before the takeover. "Complaints to the local DDA office every day did not have any effect. On Monday, after several complaints to the MCD, the main sewer was cleaned up with the help of machines", he said.

The drains remain just as bad, however. "The MCD staff posted here say there is another department to look after the drains, so they continue to be blocked with garbage, leaves and whatever else happens to fall in", he added.

With a brief spell of light showers, conditions have become even more unhygeinic, another resident said. With standing water in the nullahs, the garbage is starting to decompose, she added.

"The Lt-Governor visited the colony again on Monday. But he did not come to B Block where conditions are worst", she pointed out.

The MCD, which finally consented to the takeover on July 12, had said at the same time that residents of the colony were under great hardship, but that the problems could not be solved immediately.

The Municipal Commissioner had in fact suggested action against two DDA employees on the grounds that the colony's drainage system was not up to the mark. Of the 211 colonies taken over from DDA by the MCD earlier this year, it had objected only to the transfer of Yamuna Vihar.

According to municipal officials, DDA did not have either the equipment or the trained personnel to look after the sewerage of colonies like Yamuna Vihar. The system had been badly laid and properly maintained, with the colonies main sewer damaged in several places, they said.

The local MCD staff said the main problem, apart from the trunk sewer, which had sunk in some places, was the working of the pumps. They did not work for long enough, resulting in stagnation of sewage in the pipes.

Residents are afraid that with the sewage system paralysed in most parts of the colony, they will have to put up with pools of sullage once the rains start in earnest. "As it is we are in a low-lying area. There is no place for the water to go", a resident said.

Unburied carcass

Express News Service

New Delhi, July 20: Mr. M. Hanumantharao, CPM member of the Rajya Sabha, is 72 years old. He rose to express some disagreement with the Congress-I deputy leader in the Upper House N. K. P. Salve, in the course of arguments over the CAG report on Thursday.

Mr. Salve raised his voice and called Mr. Hanumantharao an "unburied carcass". And he repeated himself, calling Mr. Hanumantharao an "unburied carcass".

Mr. Dipen Ghosh, CPM leader, expressed strong objections to this when the Rajya Sabha reassembled after one of the many adjournments of the day. He demanded an apology, and insisted that this should go on record. The Deputy Speaker, Mrs. Najma Heptullah, said no abuse would go on record. There was no apology.

But the Deputy Speaker was emphatic in pulling up Telugu Desam leader P. Upendra, who referred to Mr. Salve as a "bufoon". Mr. Upendra defended himself. "It is not unparliamentary to call a member a CIA agent, but it is unparliamentary to call someone a bufoon," he said.

Mr. Dipen Ghosh asked: "Is it unparliamentary to call a bufoon a bufoon."

Crimes by Orissa cops on the rise

Express News Service

BHUBANESHWAR, Aug 2

Notwithstanding the claim of the Chief Minister, Mr J. B. Patnaik that the crime rate in the state had registered a decline, the number of crimes in which the police themselves have been involved has shown a sharp rise. While the State Home Department, pleads to having no separate figures, a cursory glance at the news reports over the last nine years tell a macabre story.

Under Mr Patnaik's regime, policemen have displayed a strange verstality as far as their involvement in crime goes. It ranges from murder in police custody to petty theft cases and rendering assistance to drug pedlars.

The most disquieting development has been the attitude of the police to crime. None other than the Director-General of Police in a statement to a Bombay weekly, declared that "rape is no manifestation of crime".

By the Chief Minister's own admission, four rape cases were registered against policemen between March 1985 and January 1987. The most sensational rape case by a policeman occurred in December 1986. A thana officer, was charged with raping a minor girl inside a Bhubaneswar police station. It was largely due to the personal initiative of the Bhubaneswar SP, Mr S. N. Swain, who acted on the basis of a petition, that the truth was brought to light. In an unprecedented move the Orissa High Court cancelled the bail order of a lower court taking the case suo moto.

While sexual abuse still remains a favourite pastime of the Orissa police, murder in police custody too is not uncommon. In 1987, Subal Polei (35) of Dimburguda village in Udala block of Mayurbhanj district was allegedly beaten to death by a sub-inspector and two constables in custody. When the enraged villagers mobbed the police station an inquiry commission was setup which indicted the three policemen. In another case, a scavenger Kasia Nayak was reportedly beaten brutally in the custody at the Purighat police station of Cuttak. Kasia died on the way to hospital. Two police officers were sentenced to eight years rigorous imprisonment by the court.

Although there is no organised crime in Orissa, the policemen have taken it upon themselves to fill the gap. Allegations of protection rackets, extortion from petty traders and villagers are galore. In a sleepy little hamlet of Serango in Ganjam district, the policemen of the local police station had cultivated the habit of extorting money at regular intervals from a tribal family. When the poor family began to protest, they were subjected to constant torture and humiliation.

While the lower ranking policemen seem to specialise in petty crimes a police officer of the state IPS cadre was recently charged with demanding and accepting dowry from his in-laws. His wife was being harassed by him for not having brought sufficient dowry. The officer was placed under suspension.

As recently as in July last, policemen belonging to a Thana of Puri town manhandled the family of a ruling party MLA. The policemen, it was found, were drunk. According to the FIR filed by Padma Lochan Panda, the Congress-I MLA, the policemen also robbed his family of gold ornaments and cash.

Policemen are also not above petty stealings. Recently, a case came to light where two policemen in Bhubaneswar were caught redhanded by the public while stealing fish from a loaded truck. The public administered their own justice before handing them over to their fellow policemen.

Amazing findings on leprosy

NEW DELHI, July 16 (PTI): Indian scientists who analysed leprosy incidence data from four continents have come up with amazing findings that link the prevalence of leprosy with underground fossil fuel deposits.

The new studies by two microbiologists at the University College of Medicine and Jadavpur University, Calcutta also sugest that soil is the major pathway for the transmission of leprosy.

The scientists who presented their findings in the latest issue of the 'Indian Journal of Experimental Biology,' expect their studies to throw new light on the communicability of the diseas.

Leprosy affects about ten million people worldwide with several endemic areas in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East. India has about four million leprosy patients.

The analysis has shown that many of these areas where leprosy is prevalent in moderate or high endemicity levels have rich reserves of fossil fuels.

An analysis of the distribution of fossil fuels and leprosy endemic areas in India, specially along the east coast, reveals a high degree of correlation, according to the scientists, Dr. A.N. Chakrabarty and Dr. S.G. Dastidar.

Leprosy causing bacteria are known to be capable of digesting fossil fuels and the organisms thrive in underground deposits before seepages bring them to the surface soil for subsequent transmission to humans.

The soil-to-human theory for leprosy infection would also explain the presence of leprosy lesions on the feet of people who routinely work on rocky sites, the scientists said.

"This is certainly not what is believed today", Dr. J.S. Pasricha, a senior dermatologist at the All India Institute of Medical Sciences here said commenting on the new hypothesis.

Current medical theories hold that leprosy is transmitted only by human contact mainly through nasal secretions, spittings and skin conditions.

The new analysis has shown that in focal points of leprosy endemicity in the USA Canada and the USSR local cases are correlated with fossil fuel deposits.

Several hundred cases in the USA have arisen in the absence of any tangible infections from humans, but have occurred in regions with significant deposits of fossil fuels, the researchers said.

The scientists, however, said despite widespread soil-borne infections, the actual manifestation of the disease depends on other factors like the immunity of the infected person and the duration of the exposure.

According to the researchers, practices like forced segregation and clustering of leprosy patients and on sanguinity among them help maintain a genetic susceptibility to the disease.

In India, this has happened in Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Kerala, the scientists said.

The two microbiologists believe that the new theory could also explain the genesis of leprosy in human populations. Although the disease has been around for centuries, its origin in humans has remained largely unexplained.

The researchers say that the disease emerged in humans dring the early era of civilisation when extensive land cultivation led to long exposures to the soil and provided a route for soil-to-human infections.

The dramatic disappearance of leprosy from Europe around the 16th century roughly coincides with the industrial revolution followed by a drift of population from agriculture to industry.

At a global level, it is estimated that about two-thirds of leprosy cases arise without any history of contact, the scientists said.

"The weight of all this evidenc is.. too great and compelling" to think that there are more variables than contact alone, thev said.

Some way to cure!

THE death of 19 new-born babies at the Calcutta Medical College Hospital last week has once again exposed the shocking state of negligence, maladministration and callousness that prevails in our public hospitals. The babies' deaths were tragically unnecessary – they died not for want of sophisticated equipment nor because of congenital disease, but because of criminal carelessness and apathy; they were killed by infections contracted in a filthy ward, where even the basic minimum rules of hygience were not observed.

The scenario is a familiar one – two patients forced to share one bed; others lying on dirty sheets on floors that have not been swabbed for days; unsterilised instruments and towels, and operation theatres infected with tetanus spores. The Calcutta tragedy, in fact, is but the latest in a long catalogue of horror stories from public hospitals all over the country – healthy limbs amputated "by mistake", live patients dumped in the morgue, surgical instruments left in patients' bodies, stray dogs and cats mauling infants in public wards. Added to all this is the sordid nexus between health authorities, politicians and manufacturers of spurious and substandard drugs, which was exposed by Justice Lentin after 14 patients died in 1986 at Bombay's J.J. Hospital, where they were given contaminated glycerol. Of course, the VIP patients in public hospitals – politicians and bureaucrats – have never experienced the appalling conditions in the public wards. Is it any wonder, then, that if from time to time a few poor patients die as a result of official callousness and neglect, the Government isn't bothered enough to undertake the kind of drastic revamping of the public health system, which might prevent such tragedies from occurring again and again?

WHEN LIFE IS CHEAP

THE explanation offered by the Superintendent of Calcutta Medical College and Hospital for the death of 19 newborn babies only exposes the criminal callousness of our so-called health system. Not for a moment will anyone be persuaded that the deaths in the CMCH's maternity ward were "natural", as claimed. Reports of babies being eaten up by dogs, and other equally horrendous events, have so far been confined to hospitals in the districts, but it would now appear that West Bengal's city hospitals, run by the Left Front Government and supervised by a Minister who boasts of having rooted out corruption from the health services, are just as appalling. Even while officials were trying to explain away the deaths, junior doctors and nurses came up with not so startling evidence of overcrowding in the maternity ward, shortage of nursing staff and the absence of hygienic conditions.

The deaths are bound to create panic among expectant women, but not being able to afford the luxury of private nursing homes they have no choice but to accept prevailing conditions. Not only is this a disgrace for a State Government that claims to have provided free health service for mothers and children, but also again underlines the shocking deterioration of West Bengal's hospitals which were once among country's best. While senior doctors and hospital administrative staff continue to get away with negligence because of Left Front patronage and, in some cases, because of their public image, junior doctors appear to be more interested in fighting for their own privileges than for the cause of the sick and the dying. Add to this the Government's total lack of regard for human life, a fact which has been confirmed time and again. If the Food Minister found it surprising that such a fuss should be made over the Behala rapeseed oil tragedy, it is now the Health Minister's turn to sit back and let his minions claim that there is nothing wrong with the health services. A few lives sacrificed at the alter of official apathy and neglect are unlikely to galvanize the Government into action.Left Front or no left front, human life is too cheap a commodity in this country for anyone to be bothered about it.

STATESMAN
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Prasanta Sur mobbed at hospital

By a Staff Reporter

THE West Bengal Health Minister, Mr Prasanta Sur, faced an angry demonstration inside the Eden Hospital premises of Calcutta Medical College on Friday. When the Minister went to the second floor of the hospital building to inaugurate the new wing of the nursery in the afternoon, he was mobbed by a group of women supporters of the Congress(I), who shouted such slogans as "Go back infant-killer". Dr Nirmal Maji, leader of the medical cell of the Chhatra Parishad, and six women Congress(I) supporters, were arrested from the spot. Meanwhile, the college authorities claimed that there were no further infant deaths during the day.

As soon as Mr Sur arrived at the spot around 4 p.m., he was informed that a group of Mahila Congress(I) activists and Dr Nirmal Maji had gathered on the second floor. Mr Sur, accompanied by the Director, Medical Education, Dr K. K. Bhattacharya, and the Superintendent of the Medical College, Dr R. M. Chatterjee, entered the hospital building. Immediately, Mr Sur demanded that Dr Maji, who was an outsider and had no business to remain on the second floor, be arrested. Police took away Dr Maji but Mr Sur had to face a very vocal group of Mahila Congress(I) supporters who did not let him enter the new nursery for about 10 minutes.

The Minister somehow managed to get past the angry women and inaugurated the new nursery. After inspecting the nursery, he told reporters that the additional cots would be used for patients with septic or other serious problems, which required isolation. He said that a meeting would be held at Eden Hospital later, where the doctors would decide how best this nursery could be utilized.

Mr Sur was extremely angry with the police arrangements. He said he would inform the Police Commissioner that the arrangements were a "total failure". He took the policemen present to task for not having brought over women constables.

In a memorandum submitted to the Superintendent of the hospital, the Mahila Congress(I) demanded that the authorities punish those responsible for the deaths of the babies and that the mothers who had lost their children be given adequate compensation. It was learnt that initially the Congress(I) supporters had no plan to demonstrate before the Minister and would have dispersed after submitting their memorandum to the Superintendent. But they changed their programme when the latter "refused to meet them".

Later, talking to reporters at Writers' Buildings, the Minister was critical of the Lady Dufferin Hospital authorities, especially the superintendent, who does not reside in his quarter. He admitted that the attitude of the hospital authorities might have discouraged patients from taking admission there. Mr Sur directed the Director of Health Services during the day to pay daily visits to that hospital, as well as the Abinash Dutta Hospital and the Indira Matrisadan, to ensure that proper arrangements were made for pregnant women and new-born babies. The Minister said that if fully utilized, these three hospitals had the capacity to meet the rush of patients.

Meanwhile, the load of patients at Calcutta Medical College Hospital was substantially reduced, with only 98 beds occupied out of a capacity of 100. During the day, a new Professor-Director assumed office at Eden Hospital. This post had been lying vacant for some time and it was a routine appointment, a spokesman for the authorities said.

Babies still dying in hospital

By a Staff Reporter

DESPITE the efforts of hospital authorities newborn babies are still dying at the Calcutta Medical College Hospital, though the mortality rate has fallen. With the death of two more babies on Tuesday night and Wednesday morning, the toll has risen to 18. Unofficial sources, however, put the toll at 21.

Some doctors, agitated over the infant deaths and the indifference of the authorities, pointed out that even after four days the nursery was neither vacated nor fumigated. The deaths would continue unless the nursery was properly disinfected, they said.

The hospital authorities restricted admission to the maternity ward and shifted about 110 patients to the three maternity hospitals of the city as was declared by the West Bengal Health Minister, Mr Prasanta Sur, on Tuesday. More than 300 new mattresses were provided to the maternity ward during the day removing the old ones. Several patients were also given mattresses on the floor. No two patients, claimed a senior hospital official, were sharing the same bed now. Attention was being paid to cleanliness of the wards. Some doctors stated that the infants, with mothers lodged on the floor, ran a higher risk of contamination and cross-infection because of being in proximity to the ground.

The exodus of mothers with their newborn babies from the hospital continued even on Wednesday. Many of the mothers who left the hospital during the day complained that they were being asked by the doctors to leave within a few hours of delivery. No one, except those in critical condition, was being allowed by the authorities to stay long at the hospital after delivery.

Members of the Association for Protection of Democratic Rights expressed shock at the death of infants at the hospital. They demanded a judicial inquiry into the matter and punitive measures against those responsible. In a statement during the day they demanded compensation to the affected families.

Dr Nirmal Maji, Convener of the West Bengal Junior Doctors' Federation, demanded the resignation of Mr Sur. He mentioned that the Health Minister of Maharashtra had resigned in 1985 owning moral responsibility for the death of 14 babies at J. J. Hospital in Bombay.

Govt apathetic to child deaths

HT Correspondent

CACLUTTA, Aug 2

As the 26th child died due to hospital squalor in Calcutta on Tuesday, West Bengal Health Minister Prasanta Sur told a Doordarshan interviewer, "what can I do before I get the expert committee's report on the infants' death?"

The Minister, a front-ranking Marxist, looked supremely unconcerned over the unprecedented toll. His words did, in fact, convey the impression that he was more of a stickler for bureaucratic procedure than anything else. The interview, while proving largely sordid for the man's astounding feat of wooden-headedness, provided a lighter moment when at one breath he claimed that under his tenure the Government hospitals had become relatively better ("they are cleaner now") and at the next he riled at the hospital employees for not being attentive to their jobs.

Not surprisingly, the overwhelming impression the Minister managed to convey was his chagrin at the media for having overblown a relatively minor matter, the 26 infants' deaths due to negligence, squalor, infection, and above all asphyxation. The series of deaths forced the Premier Government hospital, Calcutta Medical College and Hospital (CMCH), to set up an air-conditioned nursery.

As the 26 infants died within a few days of their births, the deplorable conditions of the Government hospitals came once more to the fore. One cannot do better than quote the Health Service Association of the Government doctors, the very people entrusted with the running of the Government hospitals.

The Association says that the Health Department has not been able to ensure even the minimum scientific standards in the hospitals and proceeds to give the shocking news that there is no separate enclosure for sick babies in the hospitals. As a result, the infants being born in the hospitals are being constantly exposed to unsterilised clothing. Even disposable syringes are being re-used. The nurseries are under the care of untrained nurses and the apparatus are obsolete. Often two pregnant mothers share one bed.

That the allegations are true have already been established by the steps the department has initiated. A separate enclosure is being set up for sick babies, the apparatus are being changed and trained nurses are to replace the untrained ones shortly.

The doctors draw attention to the fact that the Health Minister wore shoes while visiting the air-condition nursery at the CMCH on July 28 after inaugurating it. "Even if he were ignorant of this basic rule of hygiene.," they say, "somebody should have told him to remove his shoes before entering the nursery. But nobody did, symbolising the apathy of the authorities towards health in general and child care in particular."

While the 154-year-old CMCH or any other Government hospital in Calcutta never witnessed so many infant deaths in such a short time, 26 deaths in 10 days, the Government and the CPI-M, the main ruling party, continue to treat them as nothing scandalous and certainly not something one should get excited about. "Ganashakti", the CPI-M daily, has treated the matter in an "appropriate" manner and Chief Minister Jyoti Blasu, who is apt to comment on subjects all and sundry, has not touched on the deaths so far.

'TV did more harm than British'

VIJAYAWADA, July 16 (UNI): Dr N. Bhaskara Rao, Chairman, Operation Research Group, Delhi, today stressed the need for reshaping the content, schedule and operation of Doordarshan.

It was high time the people launched a movement to ensure that a moderating force emerged to ensure this objective, Mr Rao said at a Meet-the-Press programme.

He said "what the British could not do in 150 years, Doordarshan has done in 30 years' in lowering the value system of the society.

Unless the viewers checked the all pervading 'disturbing trends' in Doordarshan, the value system and quality of life would be badly affected and the first casualty will be the next generation.'

Dr Rao said television should be 'responsive and participatory' with more channels to ensourage local talent and culture without imposing metropolitan culturxe on the viewers.

Mr Rao said All India Radio was the worst victim of television after the print media. TV had affected the advertisement revenue of the print media apart from readership, particularly of the magazines.

Official status for Urdu sought

JANVADI Lekhakh Sangh, an all-India organization predominantly of Hindi writers, turned a new leaf on Monday in New Delhi in the history of struggle for justice for Urdu by linking it with the struggle for democratic rights and by taking initiative in supporting the demand of making Urdu the second official language in U.P.

Speaker after speaker highlighted the immediate implementation of the promise made in the election manifesto of the ruling party giving official status to Urdu. They were addressing a special meeting covened by the JLS for pressing for impelementation.

A wide range of Hindi writers from Haryana, U.P. and Delhi endorsed the view that the discontinuance of Urdu teaching was a denial of basic democratic rights of the linguistic minorities.

The declaration of second official language status for Urdu in U.P. would only mean proper arrangement for Urdu teaching at the primary and secondary schools in the entire State and provision for translation cells in Government offices and judiciary and the publication of forms and names of streets and bus stops, etc., in Urdu and the arrangements for Urdu medium shcools in areas with a sizable Urdu population.

Prof O. P. Grewal, secretary, JLS, outlined the various steps taken by the organization in this regard. The organization passed a resolution supporting the demand for second official status for Urdu in U.P. in its Bhopal conference and called for the preservation of Urdu along with its distinct script.

Dr Chanchal Chauhan of Delhi University stressed the need for waging the battle of Urdu by the Hindi writers, for this will also strengthen Hindi and stabilize the democratic traditions. He also gave the information that JLS has already held Urdu conventions in Lucknow, Bahraich and Bombay and proposes to hold another convention in Patna in late August. A memorandum of Hindi writers on Urdu bearing more than 100 signatures will be presented soon to the President, the Prime Minister and the U.P. Chief Minister. Moreover, the JLS also proposes to hold a convention of Urdu writers in Delhi in October.

Dr Javrimal Parekh of Indira Gandhi University traced the development of Hindi and Urdu relationship and stressed that all Hindi regions are also Urdu regions. Both are like twins which were identical in infancy but developed according to their own temper and became different. Both their similarity and commonness and their distinctness and identity should be respected.

— MOHAMMAD HASAN

Taming Delhi's speed freaks

People are chafing at the tough measures introduced by the new Motor Vehicles Act and trying to find ways around it. But a few are driving better. Interviews by RAJEEV NARAYAN.

DISCIPLINE won't come easy in the wild free-for-all that city traffic has become. How do you even begin to tame zipping Marutis, lawless autorickshaws, murderous DTC buses and precariously overloaded trucks? Typically, with overzealous legislation, that seeks in one sledge-hammer blow to curb excesses permitted for many decades.

The response has been equally typical. People are griping, cursing and bribing. But they are driving a little better even if it is only at main traffic points. The new Motor Vehicles Act has come into effect and has promptly given people something to talk about other than a rainless monsoon.

Ujwal Thakur, a law student, has been riding his motorcycle for ten years on Delhi's roads without a licence. "Now I don't go on the main roads at all," he says. "Every cop, even home guards look like traffic cops to me. I never cross the stop line now whereas before I used to jump every red light. Who wants to be challaned Rs. 1000 or 2000?" He adds with a grin, "My bike automatically stops metres before the stop line as if there is a chasm beyond it. I have to get my licence made now."

Sanjeev Jain, a Yusuf Sarai shopkeeper has already felt the sobering impact of the new rules. "Four of us were returning from a party and I was speeding. We were stopped by a cop and challaned, and fined Rs. 1000. We did try to bribe the cop but he wasn't corrupt. We pooled what we had and paid up."

But has it sobered him for good? Of course not. Wildness on the roads is congenital to Delhi's citizenry, it would seem. He adds, "To say that I have stopped speeding wouldn't be correct. I have stopped speeding in dangerous spots, spots where cops generally are around but otherwise I still drive as I used to."

A sub inspector who did not want to be identified says that persons who used to drive carefully are now more careful. Those who were rash are still so. "Only at the major crossings are drivers more law abiding and careful."

The major deterrent seems to be the hefty fines. But they don't always work as a deterrent, in many cases they are just pushing up the level of bribes customarily expected by the traffic police. Says Nitin Sachdeva a maker of Motor vehicle parts "Nobody is going to be able to pay Rs. 1000 on the spot. So they will impound the registration papers of the vehicle. But who cares about that? You can easily get your registration book released by paying a bribe at the transport authority. I was challaned Rs. 1000 for nigh speed driving. What I did was to talk it out with the cop and bribe him. I paid him Rs. 150 and he let off. So what's the use of this Act? Earlier I would have had to pay Rs. 50 or Rs. 100."

The popular, cynical view is that petty corruption will increase since nobody will want to pay the enhanced fines. But Delhi's Deputy Commissioner of Police, Traffic, Mr S. B. Deol, does not think so. He thinks that the steep fines will have a psychological impact on the public and takes the cheerful view that corruption will stay at the same level. "I don't think corruption will increase because of this Act. Corrupt personnel have always been there and will continue to be there. It will remain just as it was."

"I don't think corruption will increase because of this Act. Corrupt personnel have always been there and will continue to be there. It will remain just as it was."

S. B. Deol, DCP Traffic

But the sub-inspector differs. He thinks the Act does open up opportunities for corruption "because anybody will be ready to pay Rs. 100 to 200 in order to get out of paying Rs. 500 or Rs. 1000."

It would seem that the police can also be persuaded for a consideration to register cases for an offence which carries a lower fine than the offence actually committed. The figures for the first 15 days of July, when compared to those of similar periods in other months of this year show that the number of violations has not come down, sharply but nor have the fines realised increased substantially, as they should have if the enhanced fines were being levied.

This is partly because magistrates are letting off people with much smaller sums when the cases are going to court. Says a young man who did not want to be named, "The police have become very strict indeed. Our car has a VVIP registration number but still it, was challaned Rs. 1000 for crossing the yellow line. My father who was driving said he would pay up in court. But once it goes to court first it takes a lot of time for your hearing date and secondly you get off easily especially if you know the right people. You can be sure that you will have to pay a maximum of around Rs. 200 to Rs. 250."

Traffic rules apart, the Act is an ambitious one which also seeks to tame a number of errant sectors. Predictably, they are all screaming. The motor driving schools are on strike, autorickshaws and taxis went on a day's token strike in Delhi, scooter dealers are incensed because they are required to ensure that there are indicators on the scooters they sell.

Earlier, getting a learner's licence used to be easy as pie. You just walked in, paid Rs. 10 and got one. Now it takes much longer, requires a medical certificate, photographs, and testing of the applicant's knowledge of road signs.

With scorpions yet again!

Express News Service

COIMBATORE, July 10

The 37-year-old snakeman, Parthasarathy, in his attempt to make a re-entry of his name in the Guinness Book of World Records, on Saturday rolled up and down the 850 steps of the famous Marudamalai hill near here with about 30 deadly black scorpions all over his body.

Watched by a stunned audience, Parthasarathy, wearing a banian and sports shorts, let the scorpions inside his banian and rolled up the steps to reach the top of the hill, which has housed the shrine of Lord Muruga, in a little less than three and a half hours. Within a few minutes of reaching the top, Parthasarathy rolled down again with the deadly creatures on his body and reached the bottom to complete his ordeal and this time he took only one and a half hours to roll down the 850 steps.

uring the venture he was bitten 30 times by the scorpions and every time a scorpion bit him he chewed a few peppers to counter the poison of the scorpions. As he had to roll on the steps made of rock which were uneven braving the hot sun. He suffered 36 bruises.

All the scorpions came out alive at the end of the ordeal. The feat was inaugurated by Mr V. Mylswami, president of the Coimbatore District Amateur Athletic Association.

It may be recalled that Parthasarathy recently swallowed 50 grammes of raw chilly powder in three minutes' time in Coimbatore.

Tuskers strike terrorism in Ranchi

By SUNIL MENON

The Times of India News Service

KARA (Ranchi), July 19.

AS dusk descends on Jurdag village, all eyes are riveted on a plot of jungle, 200 metres to the west. The sense of apprehension is almost palpable. Will they or will they not visit the village again, people speculate in hushed whispers.

And then, carried by the breeze, comes the faint sound of an elephant trumpeting from a distance. A collective sigh of relief rises from the gathering. Tonight the villagers can sleep in peace. The trumpet has helped ascertain the position of the 12-strong elephant herd. It is at the opposite end and will in all probability visit only Jaltenda village in the night.

The fear of the residents of Jurdag is understandable, for it was only few days ago that the herd had walked into the village around midnight. Verma Suansi, whose house lay first in the elephants' path, was dragged out and crushed to death. His body had to be literally scraped out of the ground.

The elephants then attacked several houses, "destroying them and eating grain and jackfruit, before claiming another victim, Mary Surin Mundain, a 50-year-old woman. The elephants remained in the village till around 4 p.m. before retreating to the jungle.

With these deaths, the number of people killed by the herd in the Kara block — under which Jurdag falls — and the Lapung block in Gumla district has gone up to ten.

The herd, originally 16-strong, including three calves has been in these two blocks since June 25. But for the past one week they have divided into two groups, the larger comprising 12 roaming about the vicinity of Jurdag. According to the DFO (east), the division was caused by the advanced stage of pregnancy of one of the females which had slowed down the progress of the group.

Some tribals of the Kara block informed the Times of India News Service, that the female delivered on July 14. The forest officials, however, had no knowledge of this.

The original habitat of the herd was the Harhat jungle in Singhbhum district. It left the jungle, in September 1988, for reasons till not known. Traversing Gumla district, it entered Madhya Pradesh, only to return to Gumla district and to retract again to Madhya Pradesh. This to and fro movement went on for eight long months, before it started its return migration in April this year.

The herd was first seen in the Lapung block on June 25. Since then, it has been moving in a north-easterly direction, affecting en route the villages of Hulsu, Sadanatoli, Karanjtoli, Dugrutoli, Murichkel, Nagda, Tinda, Odikel, Kassira, Latha, Asalammadi and Jurdag.

According to forest officials, the herd is not aggressive, and most of the killings occurred when it felt that the calves were being threatened, according to villagers, the herd enters the villages after sunset.

Thereafter, the modus operandi is for the elders to either knock down doors or walls of the houses making room enough for the calves to enter and drag out bags of grain and other eatables. It is usually when the minors are late in coming out of a house that the elders turn aggressive and seek human lives.

Interestingly, the herd has refused to touch grain kept by the forest officials with the intention of keeping them away from the villages.

The appearance of the herd on the vicinity of Jaltenda village has comforted forest officials. They say that if it maintains its present course, it should be entering Horhat, approximately 25 km away, in another fortnight's time.

Also, the present route is along a sparsely populated belt and, thus, the danger to human lives is less. They have decided not to interfere with the herd and to allow it to proceed to its destination.

The forest department has also announced a compensation of Rs 10,000 to the family of each deceased and Rs 750 to those whose houses have been destroyed and Rs 100 against each acre of standing crop damaged. The villagers, however, have described the amounts as "pittance".

Wild elephants kill five

From Our Correspondent

RANCHI, July 27.— Five more persons were killed by a herd of wild elephants in Murhu block of Ranchi district during the past 24 hours, according to reports reaching here. With 13 people killed earlier this month, the toll has risen to 18.

The reports said the herd attacked Jiwantoli village in Murhu at 9 a.m. today. The elephants damaged several houses and killed three persons on the sopt. They had already killed two persons last night at Binda village of Murhu block.

Earlier, the district and Forest Department officials had claimed that the elephants had been driven away to their natural habitat in Porahat forest of Singhbhum district. When the elephants attacked this morning the agitated villagers blocked the traffic on the Ranchi-Chaibasa Highway in protest against the officials' claim. There was a traffic jam on the highway.

BJP demands statehood

HT Correspondent

NEW DELHI, Aug. 3

More than 2,000 workers of the BJP staged a demonstration today in front of Union Home Minister Buta Singh's house to demand statehood for Delhi. The workers later courted arrest.

Addressing the demonstrators, president of Delhi unit of BJP Madanlal Khurana said the Government was not interested in granting an Assembly for Delhi. The Congress-I ruled government was adopting delaying tactics like setting up of committee, whereas statehood was granted to Goa and some other Centre-ruled States without these committees, he charged.

Mr Khurana said the Government had not fulfilled the promises it made at the time of the last civic polls. With the result, Delhi now had a rising number of unemployed youths, spiralling prices and other related problems due to mismanagement by the rulers and bureacracy.

The Government was not considerng the recommendations of the Sarkaria Committee which was set up to look after the granting of statehood to he national Capital, Mr Khurana said. He alleged the Congress-I was scared of going to the polls in Delhi and adopting tactics which were causing miseries for the citizens.

Mr Vijay Kumar Malhotra, general secretary, BJP, said the Panchayati Raj and local bodies bills proposed to be placed in Parliament was a fraud. He said the rights of the people of Delhi to elect their own representatives had been curtailed by the Central Government by not holding polls in the Metropolitan Council for over seven years.

Announcing the decisive battle for demanding statehood for Delhi, Mr Khurana said the BJP workers would stage demonstrations on August 18, 19 and 20 and a Delhi bandh on August 31.

He said the Congress-I would have to face the consequences if the demands of the people of Delhi were not met. The BJP would also launch a 'jail bharo' agitation on the three days to press the government to grant plots to the slum dwellers, recognition of unauthorised colonies and construction of houses.

The BJP activists who started the demonstration from the party office on Ashoka Road were stopped by the police about 500 yards away from the Home Minister's residence.

POSTAL STRIKE: The minister of state for communications, Mr Girdhar Gomango, told the House that the National Federation of Postal Employees has not given a notice for a strike and said if they went on a strike it would be illegal and action would be taken against the striking employees.

Mr Gomango assured members that the government has a positive attitude towards the eight point demands of the employees.

5000 BKU men gherao police station

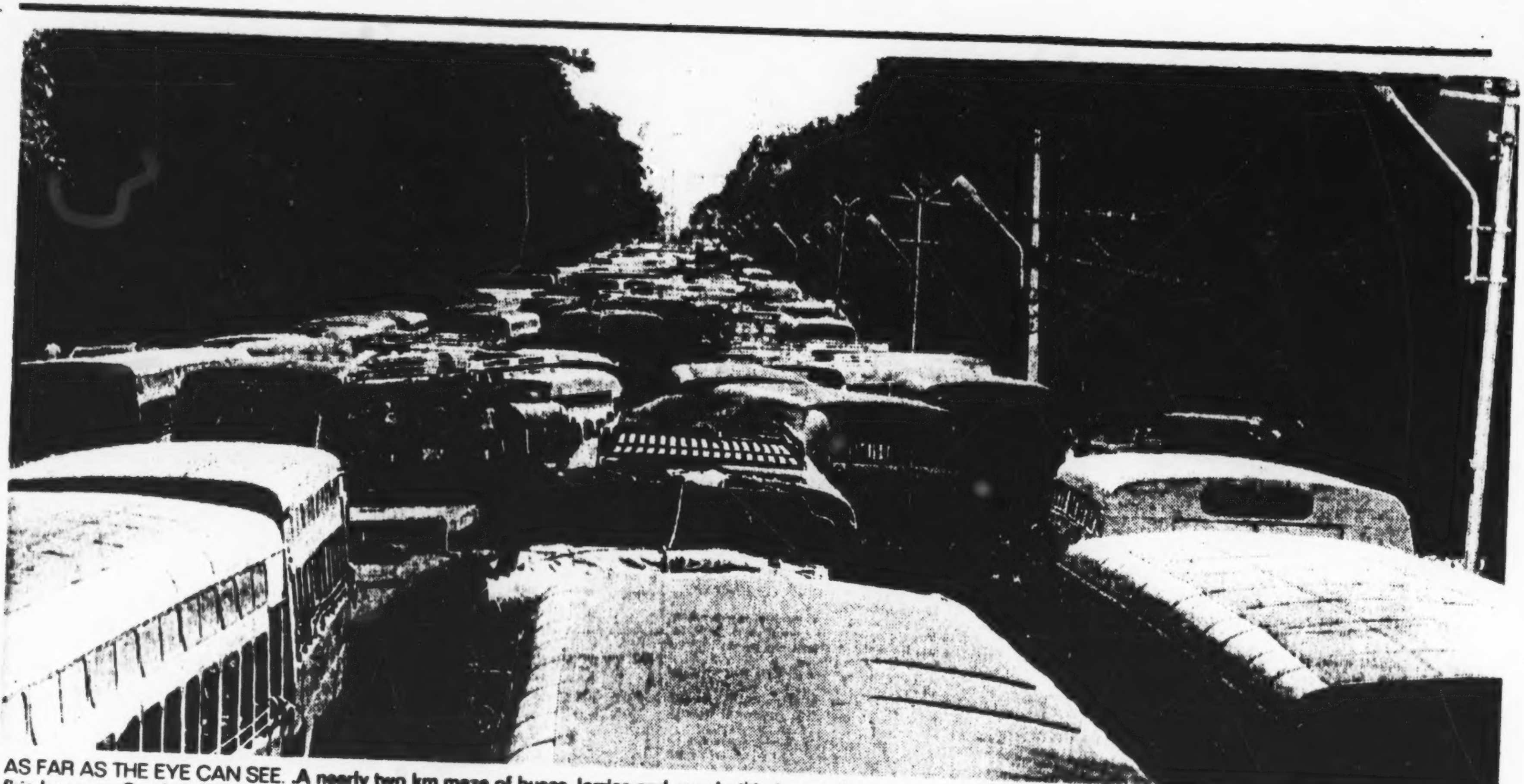
From Soumya Ghosh

MUZAFFARNAGAR, Aug. 3—About 5,000 workers, led by Bhartiya Kisan Union leader Mahendra Singh Tikait, gheraoed the district police station here today in protest against the firing and lathi-charge on farmers in Bhopa village yesterday evening.

According to Superintendent of Police M. S. Bali, BKU workers armed with guns, lathis and other weapons turned violent following which the police had to resort to a mild lathi-charge. One policeman received head injuries when a BKU worker allegedly fired a shot.

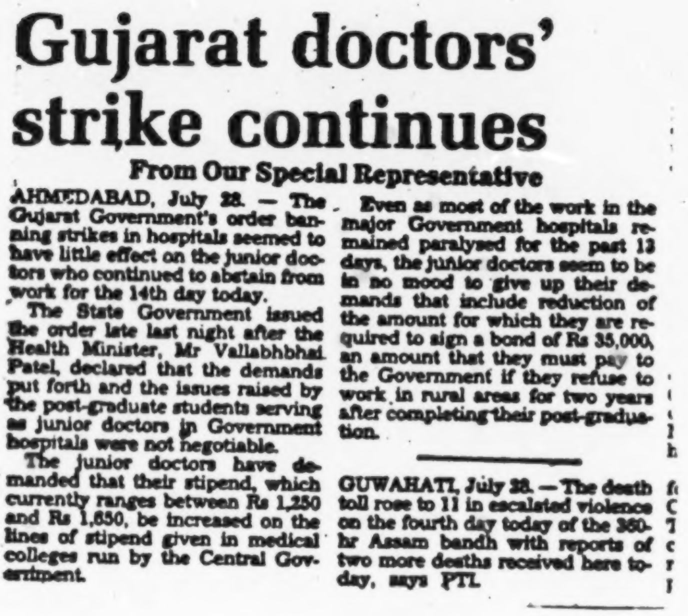
The trouble started when the BKU men began protesting against the abduction of a girl, Naieema, 18, of Sikri village. According to the police, Jameel, a local Congress-I worker, blamed the gram pradhan of Sikri for the abduction of the girl. Earlier, however, the police said that Naieema had eloped on her own with a man

SHOW OF STRENGTH: A BJP woman worker defies cop power during a rally outside Mr Buta Singh's house on Thursday demanding an Assembly for Delhi. — HT photo by S. N. Sinha



AS FAR AS THE EYE CAN SEE. A nearly two km maze of buses, lorries and cars bottled up traffic on the Grand Southern Trunk Road near Tambaram (Madras) for about five hours on Sunday, following an alleged assault on two bus crew men on Saturday by two passengers who were refused permission to take their pet dog along with them

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



Gujarat doctors' strike continues

From Our Special Representative

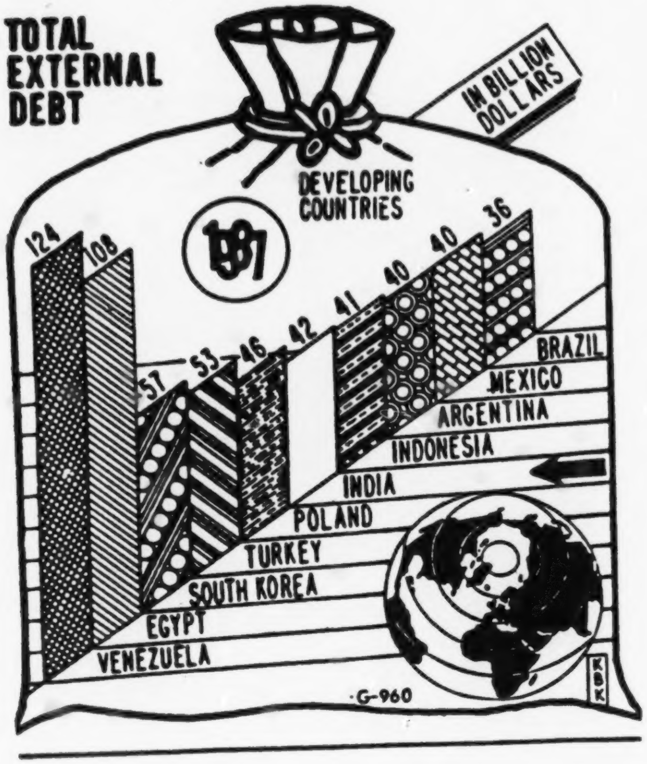
AHMEDABAD, July 28. — The Gujarat Government's order banning strikes in hospitals seemed to have little effect on the junior doctors who continued to abstain from work for the 14th day today.

The State Government issued the order late last night after the Health Minister, Mr Vallabhbhai Patel, declared that the demands put forth and the issues raised by the post-graduate students serving as junior doctors in Government hospitals were not negotiable.

The junior doctors have demanded that their stipend, which currently ranges between Rs 1,250 and Rs 1,650, be increased on the lines of stipend given in medical colleges run by the Central Government.

Even as most of the work in the major Government hospitals remained paralysed for the past 13 days, the junior doctors seem to be in no mood to give up their demands that include reduction of the amount for which they are required to sign a bond of Rs 35,000, an amount that they must pay to the Government if they refuse to work in rural areas for two years after completing their post-graduation.

GUWAHATI, July 28. — The death toll rose to 11 in escalated violence on the fourth day today of the 360-hr Assam bandh with reports of two more deaths received here today, says PTI.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EXTERNAL
DEBT
IN BILLION DOLLARS
DEVELOPING COUNTRIES
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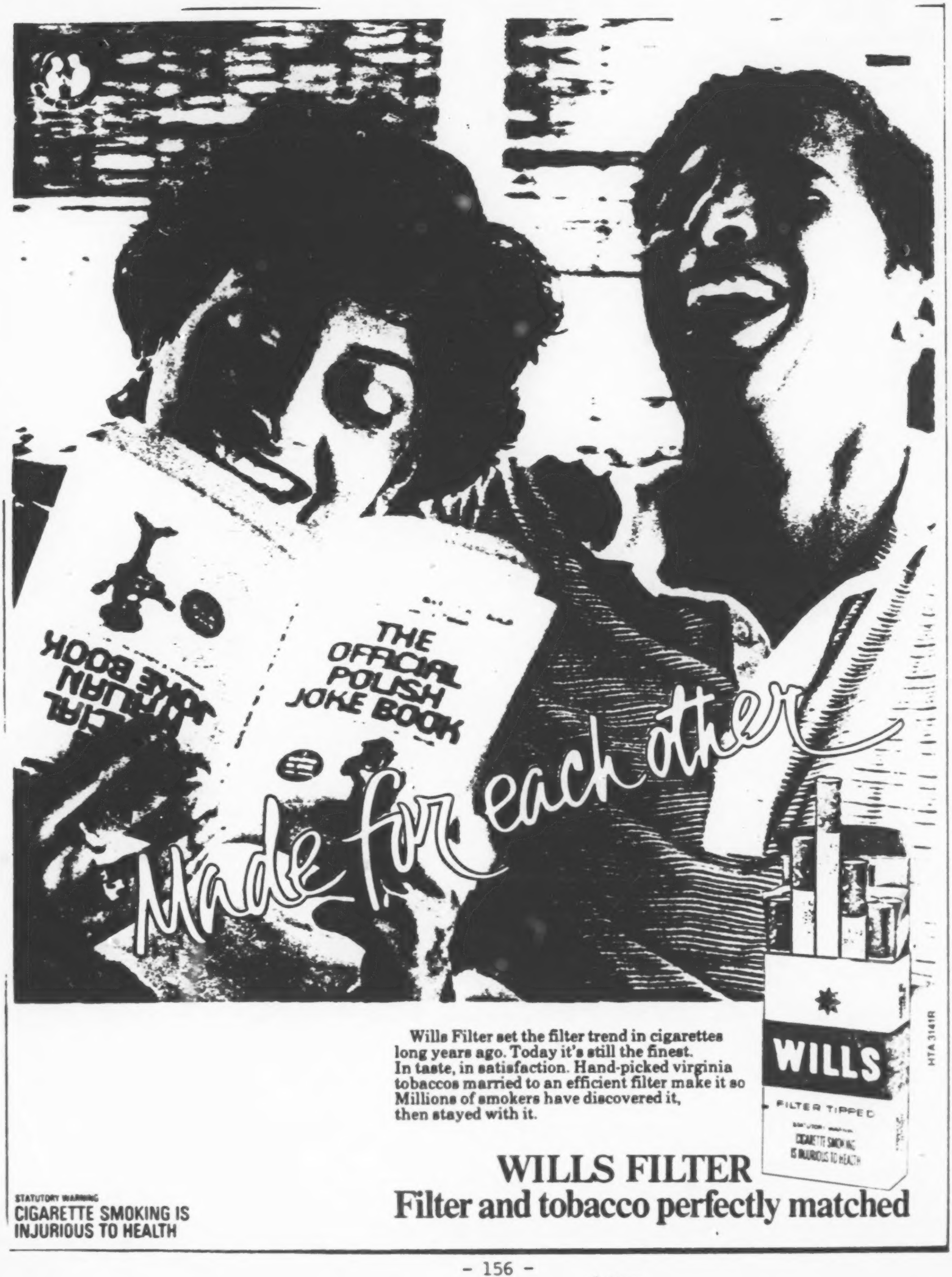
THE OFFICIAL POLISH JOKE BOOK
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WILLS
FILTER TIPPED
STATUTORY WARNING CIGARETTE SMOKING IS INJURIOUS TO HEALTH
HTA 3141R

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STATUTORY WARNING
CIGARETTE SMOKING IS INJURIOUS TO HEALTH

Paris meet: G-7's hypocrisy

"DIALOGUE," said the heads of G-7, "is the only way we can build confidence and help each other." "Let us talk then," said the leaders of the developing countries. "No," came the reply, "for the only dialogue that interests us is the one with the eastern bloc," said the leaders of the world's seven most industrialised nations (G-7). It was their "duty," said the G-7, to help the process of economic and political liberalisation in Poland and Hungary. Their other duty, concluded the seven, was to warn the world about the impending ecological disaster and suggest ways to save the planet. The Third World, said the G-7, could wait. The trade war, too, that threatens to pit the United States against the European Community (EC) and the two against Japan, would not spoil the "family reunion" where the menu was milk and honey. The heads of the industrialised nations said they wanted their summit to be harmonious — and green.

An opportunity

The developing world had hoped — and France had encouraged that hope — that the symbol of the French Revolution would be used to call for a genuine dialogue between the rich and the poor nations to tackle global economic issues. They were thinking specifically about the South's $ 1.3 trillion debt burden that showed no signs of relenting. What better backdrop than the fall of the Bastille prison and the universal aspects of the revolutionaries' message of liberty, equality and fraternity to talk about debt and underdevelopment?

They were in for a cruel surprise. The G-7 — who had hoped to be the only invitees to the bicentennials — were planning to use the revolution's message to mean liberty, equality and fraternity of free trade among themselves. At a time when they unabashedly talk about dividing the world into three major economic and trading zones — the U.S., Canada, the Common Market and Japan and the Pacific rim countries being the three entities — the seven felt this was the opportune moment to remind each other about the value of being free and equal trading brothers. The ground rules established, the seven then chose the path of least resistance — and high political gain — by rallying behind the mother-earth cause. This led one observer to remark that "environment is today what the entire defence debate was yesterday."

The French President, Mr Francois Mitterrand, who was hoping to launch a mini Cancun summit during the bicentennials (like the Cancun, Mexico, summit of 1981) found that his other G-7 partners were simply not interested and persuaded him to abandon the idea and all thought of mentioning the need for a North-South dialogue in the final G-7 communique.

In their lengthy political and economic declarations, the seven pledged to continue efforts to keep inflation under control, called for reduction in budget deficits in the U.S., Canada and Italy and policies that would encourage non-inflationary growth of domestic demand in West Germany and Japan, supported the multilateral surveillance of economic policies, reaffirmed their determination to fight protectionism, announced an aid package for Poland and Hungary, pushed for a debt strategy that asked financial institutions to take a realistic and constructive approach in their negotiations with debtor countries and devoted over a third of their communique to the environment question where they did not go into any specific strategy but sought to reinforce the existing approaches. They however recommended economic incentives to help the Third World match their own efforts to save the earth and advocated a freeze on current levels of carbon dioxide emissions.

The summit of the G-7 in Paris last week-end showed that the seven most industrialised nations do not think much of the pressing economic problems of the Third World. To them their own trading concerns, Poland, Hungary and ecology were more important.

They also condemned terrorism and the "political repression in China," pledged to wage a war on laundering of money from the illicit sale of drugs and gently told the Soviet leader, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev, that his desire to be part of this global cooperation on economic matters (in a surprise letter to Mr. Mitterrand and the G-7, the Soviet leader argued that perestroika was inseparable from full and complete participation in the world economy) was a little "premature."

Thus what started out 14 years ago as an effort to harmonise international trade has now become a pulpit from which the seven send out strong political signals that are backed by their combined economic might. Having not had much success in their attempts to keep each other in harness, the seven have now found common cause in berating the rest of the world. As a result their meetings have no surprises and not much substance. In fact, the Paris summit adjourned sooner than scheduled and while the leaders said their harmonious conditions enabled them to work efficiently, observers said time hung on them.

Ecology on agenda

Weeks before the recent G-7 summit (July 14-16) in Paris opened, speculation about what the leaders would discuss ceased. This was going to be the "ozone-layer summit" and drafts of the final communique were selectively leaked to reinforce the idea that the leaders of the United States, Japan, West Germany, France, Britain, Italy and Canada considered environmental issues a top priority in the final decade of the twentieth century.

"A good economic policy is one that is ecologically sound," said the West German Chancellor, Mr. Helmut Kohl. The West Germans can talk with authority about ecology since they have had a strong domestic ecology debate (West German Greens are pioneers) for over a decade now. The same cannot be said of Mrs. Margaret Thatcher whose sudden "greening" has more to do with electoral threats and less with a genuine change of heart. After all Britain's reputation as a champion polluter in Western Europe is no secret. The U.S. President, Mr. George Bush too made an election promise to call for an international environment meet and was not unaware of the domestic gains that could be got by making environment the key issue in Paris.

The view from the South on this sudden interest in environment is different. Many Third World diplomats feel that issues of environment cannot be delinked from those of development, and under the guise of environment protection, the West may seek to freeze progress in developing countries. Third World negotiators, while welcoming the move to protect the environment, are saying that they want to be equal partners in discussions on this issue. The current damage to the ozone layer, as one diplomat pointed out, stems largely from the profligate consumption in the West — and the resultant pollution — and not from deforestation in India or Brazil. As the focus shifts to freezing current levels of Carbon dioxide emissions, the threat to the South's developmental plans deepens.

If environment was the "substance" of the summit, harmony was projected as the air that reigned between the leaders despite the fact that not-too-distant clouds signal a trade war between some members of this exclusive club. After all, the United States has consistently blamed Japan — and West Germany — for all its economic problems and Japan has a running battle with the EC over quotas and trade barriers. As the recent U.S. 301 action indicates, the United States genuinely believes that many countries (including some G-7) are "unfair traders" and have to be brought in line by force. But the seven made no serious mention of their trade tensions and in a remarkable show of hypocrisy stated that the international trading environment was "exceptionally healthy" at present.

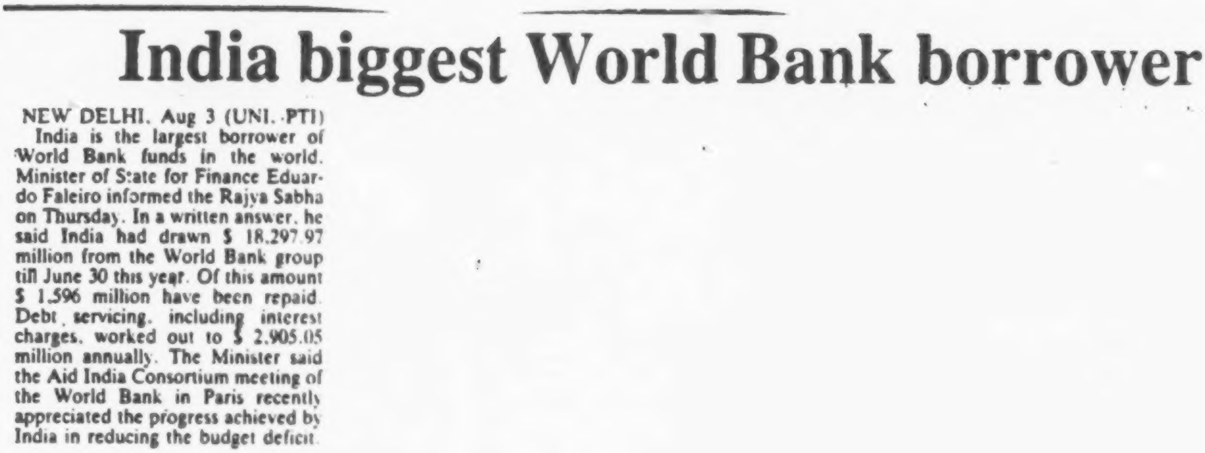
The seven did not either talk about the Third World's debt problem, and the four-nation appeal (India, Senegal, Venezuela and Egypt) calling for summit level consultations on global economic matters was completely ignored. Instead, the seven supported the Brady plan (U.S. Treasury Secretary, Mr. Nicholas F. Brady, unveiled his debt strategy recently where the international financial institutions play a central role and where they are simply asked to take a realistic and constructive approach in their negotiations with debtor countries) with debt write-offs negotiated on a case-by-case basis.

Challenge for South

The G-7 summit made it quite clear that the seven are in no mood to talk to the South. For them, the kind of global negotiations that the South is calling for is taking place in the GATT's Uruguay round of multilateral negotiations. It is for this reason that the G-7 together and individually use every forum to stress that success in the multilateral negotiations is the only barometer for the future. And now with the Soviet Union and the United States holding hands coupled with recent trends among the Third World countries, where their traditional solidarity crumbles at the first threat, the months ahead are going to be a challenge for Third World politicians. The Paris summit was only a taste of things to come.

Chitra Subramaniam

recently in Paris



India biggest World Bank borrower

NEW DELHI, Aug 3 (UNI, PTI) India is the largest borrower of World Bank funds in the world, Minister of State for Finance Eduardo Faleiro informed the Rajya Sabha on Thursday. In a written answer, he said India had drawn $ 18,297.97 million from the World Bank group till June 30 this year. Of this amount $ 1,596 million have been repaid. Debt servicing, including interest charges, worked out to $ 2,905.05 million annually. The Minister said the Aid India Consortium meeting of the World Bank in Paris recently appreciated the progress achieved by India in reducing the budget deficit.

Third World

Entrapped in debt

By Bepin Behari

THE developmental programmes of emerging nations have not only entrapped them in backbreaking foreign debt but have also aroused international tension causing rivalries among the superpowers for establishing economic and political supremacy over these regions. The American anxiety to bail out the Third World of its 1.3 trillion dollar foreign debt by 'forgiving part of the 400 billion dollars they are owed by the largest debtor countries such as Mexico, Venezuela and Brazil' is symptomatic of the interest of the western nations in the economic solvency of developing nations. The idea of a Pacific Community was put forward as far back as 1966 by the Japanese scholar Kiyoshi Kojima whilst Mikhail Gorbachev affirmed the Soviet willingness to join in deliberations on the likely principles of such cooperation as recently as July 1986. But the newly independent nations have been bogged down by their inner compulsions and external pressures that the emergence of any effective solution does not seem to be in sight.

Arms race

The problem has become difficult owing to the fact that the arms race of the modern world is continuing at such a fast speed and the requirements of developing nations are increasing so rapidly that the availability of resources seems much short of the development needs of the poorer nations. The relationship between the two can be gauged by the fact that the increment in the global production of goods and services between 1960 and 1983 equalled US $8,400,000,000 million whilst more than US $14,000 million was spent on military purposes during the same period. Such a wastage of resources and inadequacy of production potential seem atrocious in comparison with rampant deprivations in the region. Presently, more than 1,000 million persons live in abject poverty, 800 million are chronically hungry, 1,500 million persons have no access to medical assistance, 1,000 million people have practically no houses and 2,000 million have no access to clean drinking water.

Influx of external resources and technological support from industrially advanced countries are essential requirements for improving the basic living conditions of the Third World. Apart from external assistance, direct investment through joint ventures is an important means of supporting the industrialisation programme of these countries. In fact, by the mid-80s the western industrial nations had invested US $150,000 million in the economies of developing countries where about 28,000 subsidiaries of the western firms were operating. These transnational corporations were motivated by their own interests which were often at variance with those of the host countries. They controlled nearly 40 per cent of the industrial output of the newly free countries and half of their foreign trade. During recent years, specially after the 60s, the local governments have become very reticent in granting permission to these firms.

The multinationals have established themselves in several developing countries specially because of special advantages accruing in those regions. Specially in Southeast Asia, the attraction has been the availability of semi-skilled industrial labour at low cost. Some developing countries derive a significant part of their manufacturing exports from local subsidiaries of multinationals.

Mutual attraction on these principles has led to the dependence of the developing countries on multinationals who have secured crucial position in the general economy of these countries. In the middle and late 1970s the share of multinationals in manufactured exports of Korea and Mexico was around 30 per cent, in Brazil the share was more than 40 per cent and in Singapore more than 90 per cent. As a result of the foreign collaboration of these multinationals many developing countries have begun exporting manufactures without going through an initial phase of import substitution. Some of these corporations are located in developing countries with the principal aim of producing in order to export to their home and other markets.

Growth rate

The contribution of these multinationals in the total growth rate of the developing countries has been much less than the expected level. The growth rate of volume of exports has declined from 4.9 per cent in 1965-73 to 4.7 in 1973-80 and 4.4 per cent in 1980-86; exports of manufactures had increased from 11.6 per cent in 1965-73 to 13.8 per cent during 1973-80 but has declined to 8.4 per cent subsequently during 1980-86. Even their real GDP declined from 6.5 per cent in 1965-73 to 5.4 per cent during 1973-80 and 3.6 per cent during 1980-86.

The strategy adopted by the developing countries for augmenting their production, increasing their exports and eliminating their poverty has not succeeded in making them self-reliant. They have been caught in the debt-trap of a very menacing order. The percentage of debt to GNP gradually increased from 20.6 per cent in 1980 to 22.4 in 1981, 26.3 in 1982, 31.4 per cent in 1983, 33 per cent in 1984, 35.8 per cent in 1985 and 35.4 per cent in 1986. Ratio of debt to exports increased from 90 per cent in 1980 to 98 per cent in 1981, 117.6 per cent in 1982, 134.8 per cent in 1983, 121.2 per cent in 1984, 143.7 per cent in 1985 and 144.5 per cent in 1986. Ratio of debt service to GNP during this period increased from 3.7 per cent in 1980 to 4 per cent in 1981, 4.6 per cent in 1982, 4.5 per cent in 1983, 4.9 per cent in 1984, 5.3 per cent in 1985 and 5.5 per cent in 1986.

Main defects

The emerging structure of developmental programmes suffers from two main defects: First, the economy is geared to exports and the items exported are vulnerable to international price fluctuations often going against the developing countries. Secondly, the emphasis on unemployment alleviation and foreign exchange earning have not effectivelt checked the brain drain from the developing countries.

The brain drain from developing countries consists of migration of scientists, engineers and skilled workers and other specialists. The volume of this migration and the geographical scope of this migration have been accentuating the growing hardships and shortages in the developing countries. On the basis of UNCTAD data, the total amount of fund transferred to ten developing countries which are major suppliers of labour to world market grew from US $ 1,600 million in 1975 to about US $ 11,500 million in 1982 whilst its ratio to the aggregate imports of these states increased from 8 to 26 per cent. Though the migrants to Saudi Arabia and other oil exporting countries amounting to about 80,000 persons of skilled workers out of a total of about two million every year have been gradually increasing, yet the professionals to the developed countries were of a different category very much desired in their own country. Professionals accounted for 40 per cent of the total number of immigrant labour hired in the United States in 1961 which grew to 75 per cent in 1970.

Thus engaged in siphoning the production potential from the developing countries and denuding them of valuable technical and personnel support, the industrial West is forging strong integrated structure with developing countries for its own economic growth. Among themselves, they are diversifying production at different localities and assembling the final product under well established trade name so as to secure the best competitive advantages. For example, there is a programme under the Ford motors to get their various parts in different countries where special facilities exist. The final assembly takes place at Halewood in the United Kingdom and at Saarlouis in West Germany but its tyres, tubes, seat pads, and brakes are manufactured in Belgium, fan belts in Denmark, glass and radio in Canada, cylinder head, carburettor, glass, lamps and defroster grills in Italy, underbody coating, speedometer gears in Switzerland, while starter, alternator, cone and roller bearing, windscreen washer pump are manufactured in Japan. In this way, the entire car-components have been made separate items of production and earmarked to different firms located in different parts of the globe where best technological and labour supports are available.

Meticulous care

This shows the meticulous care with which the industrialised countries are working out for maintaining their quality and cost competitiveness while giving best consideration for the employment generation in their sister countries. Against such detailed planning, uncoordinated programming of industrial outputs from the developing countries cannot hope to secure better market advantages.

The role of India in this new international economic struggle for supremacy seems to be relegated to the backwaters. The SAARC countries around the Indian Ocean are important only for opening an entrance to this Pacific region of ASEAN-Pacific region alliance. The Soviet Union may seek its passage through the Indian Ocean for which support of India will be important. The Indian opportunity in the newly emerging economic relationship is a matter of grave concern which we may not overlook for our enduring prospects.

ELECTION YEAR POLITICS

It's an election year in India, and as I write this brief opening Rajiv Gandhi is calling for national elections. India is the world's largest democracy, and the people seem to cherish their fledgling democratic institutions.

During July and August, the opposition parties were unifying to make a concerted effort to unseat the Congress Party. The Congress Party, the party of Jawaharlal Nehru, Mahatma Gandhi, Indira Gandhi, and Rajiv Gandhi, has led India since independence for virtually all of the forty years, except for a brief period where the Janata Party ruled.

Scandals involving corruption in the highest places over military defense contracts could become India's "Watergate." A cover-up has been claimed in the press. The opposition members of the Lok Sabba (India's lower house of government) walked out in a dramatic gesture of opposition and unity.

These are truly exciting times in India. As the election draws near and the population begins to rally behind its standard bearers, tension levels will rise. Violence can be expected. And, in India, everything is done on a very large scale.

1) Have the students collect articles dealing with India's forthcoming elections, and based on their readings have them predict the outcome.

2) As the election process unfolds, have the students develop a comparison of the election process.

3) Compare India's structure of government to the British and the American in terms of legislative, executive, and judicial branches. Develop a chart to fulfill this.

Birendra Singh quits Lok Sabha, Congress(I)

P.M.'s failures criticized

From Our Special Representative

NEW DELHI, Monday. — Rao Birendra Singh, former Union Agriculture Minister, today dealt a major blow to the ruling party when he resigned from the Lok Sabha and the Congress(I) in protest against the Government's handling of the CAG report on Bofors and its many other failures.

His move was not immediately known when he handed over an envelope to the Secretary-General of the Lok Sabha and also talked briefly with the Prime Minister in the House during the placid question hour. Mr Birendra Singh, who occupies a front bench, walked out of the House quietly.

His two-page letter of resignation which was addressed to the Speaker as well as the AICC(I) President, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, has cited failures of the Government on issues like Punjab and Sri Lanka. He did not indicate in the letter if he was joining any other party.

His quitting the membership of the House and the party has come at a time when the en masse resignations of Opposition MPs from the Lok Sabha is still not complete. But from the treasury benches, Mr Birendra Singh is the first to resign in connection with the handling of the Bofors issue. He had not given any hint in the Lok Sabha about his move to quit the ruling party when the House was rocked by the Bofors controversy prior to the en masse resignations by members of 12 Opposition parties.

In his letter, Mr Birendra Singh said that the Congress(I) stand on the CAG report has made the matter "look worse". "It is not realized that if we publicly question the credibility of the CAG our own credibility will be weighed and judged against his credibility in detail," he added.

He said that for quite some time now he was feeling disturbed over the performance of the ruling party both inside and outside Parliament and the functioning of the Government. He added however: "This is not to say that the rôle of the Opposition is any better. But in my humble view the primary responsibility for maintaining the dignity and credibility of democratic institutions rests with the ruling party, particularly when it enjoys such a massive majority as at present."

RAO BIRENDRA SINGH

The failure to achieve the desired results from the Punjab and Sri Lanka accords might go down in public memory as "misadventures besetting good intentions". But the two-year-old controversy over defence deals would certainly agitate the people's mind if the truth about middlemen and commissions involved in the deals was not unearthed.

He said he did not object to the Government efforts, being made with some "urgency", to strengthen the Panchayati Raj and urban civic bodies which had existed even during the British rule and which had been receiving increasing attention since Independence.

But he was "pained" at the "apathy" of the Government towards the "aspirations of the backward classes" who constituted a major segment of the population. He noted that the Government had not taken any action on the Mandal Commission report. Even repeated and powerful appeals by public representatives and agitations by the backward classes had not "moved the Government one bit".

He recalled that most of these issues had been raised by 10 members of Parliament, including himself, in a letter to the Prime Minister not very long ago. But the letter evoked no response.

Mr Birendra Singh, who was admitted to the Congress(I) in 1978 by Indira Gandhi, said that under the present circumstances he was "convinced" that he was not doing "justice to myself or the people as a member of Parliament". He said that his present term of membership of Parliament would practically end after the current session of the Lok Sabha. "Having served legislatures for nearly four decades, I would now like to feel free and independent in the service of the people."

The resignation of Rao Birendra Singh from the Lok Sabha has been accepted by the Speaker, according to an announcement made by the Deputy Speaker, Mr M. Thambi Durai, just before the House adjourned for the day.

Pristine Pedigree

Indian practitioners of the new upmarket, high-profile thrust in advertising, marketing and public relations are sometimes blamed for borrowing most of their craft and craftiness from the amoral west. True, some exceptional examples of their ilk, might get away, protesting how "very *desi*" they innately are. But we have it on the authority of their father figure, David Ogilvy himself, how alienated many of them are from their milieu, and how they are found wanting even in their business of creating wants among consumers. Recently, the Prime Minister himself found time and occasion to chide the producers of those cute, over-glamourised, sensuous commercial spots on Doordarshan, for provoking embarrassed titters among rural women viewers by an excessive exposure of the epidermis. The more sensitive among the *wunderkindern* cover up their guilt complex by protesting that they purvey precisely the kind of *kitsch* the urban middle class consumer yearns for, even if it involves an uneasy grafting of a "phoren" concept on to an Indian theme. There is however good news for those in the "hidden persuasion" business now promising to endow a pristine pedigree on their trade practice. A stone sculpture recently excavated in Mandsaur's Sun Temple in Madhya Pradesh, which dates back a millennium, has been found to carry India's (and perhaps the world's) first advertisement. Said to be commissioned by medieval marketing men of a grateful silk-weaving sari unit of south Gujarat, the blurb says: "However nubile the youthful charms of a woman, and however ornamented and flower-bedecked her person, she will not be able to woo and win her lord and master, unless she dons a pair of our glorious woven silk apparel." The public relations experts also, who rely on the appeal of "three Martini lunches" to promote corporate images, will feel reassured by the ancient Sanskrit proverb which said "who on earth can resist being wooed when his mouth is full of toothsome viands? — even the *mridanga* (drum) makes sonorous sounds when its faces are swathed in paste." So like the claims made for flying machines, nuclear bombs and computer-friendly mathematics, P. R. and advertising began in India years ago!

Times India
July 9

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INDIAN EXPRESS

TUESDAY, JULY 4, 1989

Just rhetoric?

PUBLIC memory may or may not be short, but Rajiv Gandhi's contempt for it is as evident and as enormous as his contempt for truth, for facts, even for his own utterances. His renewed rhetoric on the Anandpur Sahib Resolution is of a piece with this trait and tactic. The other day Mr Gandhi compared the Anandpur Sahib Resolution to the Muslim League's Lahore Resolution by sticking to which the League ensured the partition of India. When the Prime Minister of a country makes such a categorical statement, the people cannot but take notice, especially when the assertion is repeated *ad nauseum* over the 200 and odd transmitters of Doordarshan.

The Prime Minister's smear reminds one of similar statements he made day in and day out during the 1984 election campaign. But, elections over, there was a sea-change in his perception of and reaction to the same Anandpur Sahib Resolution. Only a few months after the election, Mr Gandhi said that the Government did not want the Akalis to repudiate the resolution in its entirety as a pre-condition for talks on the Punjab issue; only some points in the resolution were objectionable, he said, without specifying those points. The Akalis did not repudiate any of the points of the resolution. Nor did Sant Harchand Singh Longowal before he signed the Accord with Rajiv Gandhi. And not only that. The Accord referred the resolution to the Sarkaria Commission on Centre-State relations.

Thus a resolution which, according to the Prime Minister, is as mischievous and divisive as the Muslim League's resolution was referred to a commission of inquiry! Would Mahatma Gandhi or Pandit Nehru have referred the Lahore Resolution to a commission of inquiry? The White Paper on Punjab, published on July 10, 1984 by the Government itself, explicitly stated that "the propositions contained in Anandpur Sahib Resolution on Centre-State relations were at total variance with the basic concept of the unity and integrity of the nation as expressed in our Constitution. These cannot be accepted even as a basis for discussions". That being the considered assessment of the Central Government, Rajiv Gandhi put his signatures on the Punjab Accord which can be read and certainly read by the Akalis to accept the latter's claim that the resolution "is entirely within the framework of the Indian Constitution."

Nor is that the end. Today Rajiv Gandhi smears the Opposition once again for espousing the Anandpur Resolution. But whenever the Government has needed to invoke their weight on its side it has been at pains to emphasise that the Opposition endorses *its* stand in rejecting the resolution than the stand of the Akalis! The same White Paper no less tries to insinuate as much!

Are these just the utterances of a bumbling rhetorician or those of a person who will go to any length to serve his convenience of the moment? In either event, must the country not call a halt to them?

The tyranny of Du-darshan

By Lt-Gen. S. K. Sinha, PVSM (Retd)

QUEEN VICTORIA'S pronouncement made a century ago is inscribed on the portals of North Block in Delhi. It states: "Liberty will not descend to a people. A people must raise themselves to liberty. It is a blessing that must be earned before it can be enjoyed." After Mr Rajiv Gandhi succeeded to his inheritance, he made a somewhat similar announcement, during his visit to the United States. He said that the Indian people were not ready for autonomous television. Hence the justification for government control over that media.

Surprisingly, no voice of protest was raised against the nation being so slighted in a foreign country by its new ruler, particularly when any criticism of the Government by an Indian in a foreign country is sought to be decried so much. Possibly, the reason for Mr Rajiv Gandhi's remark in the US not drawing any flak was that it was made at a time when he had acquired the image of Mr Clean, destined to ensure both change and continuity in Indian politics. That was also the time when it was repeatedly reported in the Press that he had instructed Doordarshan not to give him excessive coverage. He wrote to the then Minister for Information and Broadcasting: "We are certainly not in need of this kind of image building." The intelligentsia greatly appreciated this and was only too willing to ignore the young Prime Minister's unfortunate remark in the US. It hoped that while remaining a wing of the Government, Doordarshan will turn a new leaf and function in an objective manner, giving no more coverage to the Head of the Government or the Government's viewpoint than its counterparts do in other democracies.

This hope was short-lived. It soon got belied by later events. The repeated instructions of the Prime Minister not to give him excessive coverage were ignored. One was not sure whether this was a case of the ultimate triumph of sycophancy or the failure of a leader to get his instructions carried out. Possibly, it was both. Explanations for giving excessive coverage to the Prime Minister on the small screen were readily forthcoming. The Minister in charge declared that we had after all only one Prime Minister and he must be duly projected on the screen. The present Minister has asserted that we have such a handsome Prime Minister, implying that his looks justify the excessive coverage being given to him by Doordarshan.

Much water has flowed down Indian rivers since the early days of Rajiv's rule. The lethal salvos of the Bofors gun have torn to shreds the facade of Mr Clean that had been so assiduously built. Power brokers are now no longer to be despised. They are again honourable and trusted companions. There has also been a marked change for the worse in the projections being made by Doordarshan. Working overtime, the mandarins at Mandi House have made Doordarshan an unabashedly propagandist instrument of the Supreme Leader. With the induction of the *enfant terrible* of the ruling party into the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, even the pretence of objectivity has now been given up. He has stated, "Credibility is the dubious preoccupation of the cocktail circuit."

It is also being asserted that no Indian villager understands the meaning of credibility. Since India essentially lives in villages, there is no need to show any concern for credibility on the Indian electronic media. The proponents of this view appear to have forgotten a rather telling incident of not long ago. When Mrs Gandhi was assassinated, our electronic media did not announce her death for over eight hours. Mr Rajiv Gandhi was in Bengal at that time. When he was informed of his mother having been shot, he asked his aide to switch on the BBC to get the latest and correct news. This was a poor commentary on the functioning of our electronic media.

The courtiers formulating media policy have argued that the people of India have given "the great leader" a massive and unprecedented mandate at the last general election. It is, therefore, perfectly democratic to give massive coverage to that leader on Doordarshan. Today, the Indian Prime Minister is not only the most expensive Head of Government in the world, but is also the most widely projected leader on his country's small screen.

At a recent function at Siri Fort in Delhi, Mr Homi D. Sethna, Chairman of the National Films Award Jury, made a very forthright speech. He said, "Doordarshan is trying to protect the image of the establishment, the Government and its minions. They are turning a blind eye to wrong-doings in the country and denying the right of the people to see for themselves. We have to rise and smash control. Democracy is a sham." This outburst portrayed the true feelings of millions of captive viewers of Doordarshan. No wonder this speech was greeted with a thunderous and prolonged applause from the audience, much to the embarrassment of the Ministers and officials present at the function. True to its form, Doordarshan covering this function blacked out Mr Sethna's speech.

Cong(I) propaganda

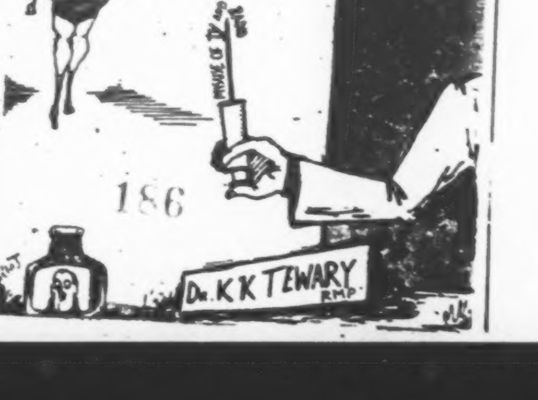
The Congress fought the British and wrested the country's freedom from them. It is an irony that in its efforts to remain in power for ever and ever, the Congress(I) has been adopting the British rather than the Congress approach during the freedom struggle. It has even been improving upon the British approach! The British used to maintain that there was no alternative to their rule. Congress(I) thinks similarly but is one step ahead when it asserts that there is no alternative to one family's and one individual's rule. The British used to argue that India was a divided house with Hindus, Muslims and "Native States", all antagonistic to each other. Till these forces united, power could not be handed over. The Congress(I) talks in similar terms about the divided opposition and till they unite they can never become a credible alternative. It also adds for good measure the ubiquitous foreign hand and the destabilising forces threatening the integrity of the country.

The electronic media, introduced during the later stages of British rule, functioned as a department of the government and anti-government news was censored. The Congress(I) has continued that tradition and has been trying to improve upon it. Not only is anti-government news heavily censored, blatant propaganda is being beamed with a view to brainwashing the people. The Indian counterparts of Goebbels and his staff, have a marked advantage. The ground for them is particularly fertile, with nearly half their target audience illiterate and the new technology of television providing audio-visual support to their efforts. With the next general election on the horizon and with a brash and crude political leadership in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, the people of India may find themselves increasingly exposed to the tyranny of Doordarshan. No amount of guidelines issued by an ineffective Election Commission will be of any avail in this regard.

The recent hike in price of newsprint and its scarcity plus the increased propagandist slant of Doordarshan are all parts of a well-thought-out strategy devised by the present rulers to remain in power for all times and at all costs. There is of course another view. The more propagandist Doordarshan becomes the more likely it is that its efforts to overkill may eventually turn out to be counter-productive. In spite of all the propaganda and tirade against Ms Benazir Bhutto, the Zia-controlled television in Pakistan failed to prevent her rise to power.

The Government of Bhutan is reported to have ordered the dismantling of all TV antennae in the kingdom because they want to preserve their ancient culture and prevent any inroads into it through Doordarshan. Today there is need to protect the Indian citizen's right to information and to safeguard him against attempts at brainwashing. Yet it is not possible for the opposition-ruled States to follow the example of Bhutan or switch off power when news or propaganda is being telecast by Doordarshan. However, the individual citizen still has the right to switch off the television in his house when news or propaganda is being telecast. Indeed, many individuals including this writer have been exercising this right. But, then, who knows — a day may come when our present rulers decide to take away this right from us; through an enactment in Parliament they may introduce compulsory viewing of news on Doordarshan!

In this context, the Janata Dal's promise that on coming to power it will introduce a Right To Information Bill, guaranteeing autonomy of electronic media and freedom of the Press, has come as a breath of fresh air. It holds out hopes for the salvation of the Indian people from the tyranny of Doordarshan. However, as things stand today, it is a million dollar question whether these hopes will get translated into reality.



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NATIONAL & PARLIAMENT

It's not credibility they are concerned with

A big battle rages in TV news room

Express News Service

NEW DELHI, Aug 1

While Doordarshan's coverage of news in an election year has become a contentious issue, the news organisation within the TV network has little time to worry about the kind of news it is putting out. It is far more engrossed in an internal battle waging in its news room with no signs of let up.

The trouble began more than two months ago with the influx of 15 new news correspondents and assistant news correspondents. They were fresh from their training at Pune and at the Central Production Centre at Siri Fort and their induction was supposed to make Doordarshan's news a lot more newsy. The Government had also spent a lot of money on them: Rs 2.5 lakh each, according to a Mandi House estimate.

But what began as teething troubles threatens to become an enduring confrontation between the new reporters and the 12 news editors who belong to the Indian Information Service (IIS). The Director and Joint Director of the News Division also belong to the IIS. The news editors feel the reporters have come in with elevated notions about themselves. "They think they are the cat's whiskers," said one. The reporters, or at least the more experienced among them, feel that the news editors are feeling insecure and penalising them for their own insecurity.

Development and news features done by the reporters are held over by the news editors on duty. For lack of space, say the news editors. Out of spite, say the correspondents. Before the current Parliament session started the news editors would say that not enough stories were coming from the new reporters. After it started there has been no space to accommodate whatever they might produce. So they have been given jobs at the news desk, most of which are not to their liking.

They were asked to translate some of the items about the Prime Minister into either Hindi or English depending on which language he had spoken in. They felt that this was not the kind of thing they had been recruited and trained for.

When the correspondents were deployed to help prepare the evening bulletins, the news editors did not take kindly to it. One of them threw a fit and said he could not work with a reporter sitting across from him. He went on protest leave for a while and, in turn, was threatened with a transfer.

Others complain that even though they are such a hand-picked bunch the correspondents dn't write proper news reports or show enough news judgment.

Even when their stories are used their voices are not, so that viewers wil not often guess that what the newsreader is reading out is not culled from news agency copy but has been given by a reporter in the field. The news room officials say that this is because their voices are terrible, and that letters have been coming from viewers complaining about the pronunciation of the new correspondents.

The reporters say that they feel they have been thrown to the wolves. They have retaliated by taking their grievances to the Doordarshan Directorate at Mandi House.

And with that the battle has quickly become a broader one. There is little love lost between the programme cadre which runs the Directorate and the IIS cadre which runs the News Division. But the Director-General and the Additionel Director-General and the Additional Director-General in charge of news and current affairs at Mandi House call the shots.

Mandi House has begun to decree that the reporters should take over some of the news editors functions and start handling bulletins independently. The news editors see this as a threat to their turf. They also see it as a move by the programme people in Mandi House to put the IIS in their place. The latter cadre alleges that though one IIS man retired recently from Mandi House his post has not been filled from someone from the same cadre, and the effort is to edge the IIS out of TV jobs altogether.

At the DG's insistence the new correspondents are now preparing the 7.30 news bulletin for Channel 2 and this has certainly not endeared them to their desk-bound colleagues. Some of the correspondents are on the war path and have taken to complaining to the Director-General whenever they have a problem.

Credibility

The DG has met both groups together and separately.

Last week he met the news editors and promised them that the crisis would be shortly defused. He did, however, tell them that the correspondents should be allowed to function as editors since their training had been fairly comprehensive. He suggested that both sides work in harmony.

The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting has also been in the picture with the news editors meeting the Secretary for Information and Broadcasting, Mr P. Murari. It has not, however, moved as yet to defuse the tension.

When they were training in Pune some of the new recruits in the course of recording their perceptions about their future role had said that they thought their job was to restore credibility to Doordarshan and bring back professionalism in the news. The news editors pooh-pooh such notions. Not all the reporters in the country can restore credibility to Doordarshan, they say, the political compulsions of the medium being what they are.

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> A day before the carnage at Moga, Ray claimed terrorists were on the run. The next day, 25 people were butchered.

S. S. RAY MAY CLAIM THAT ALL IS FINE IN PUNJAB. BUT THAT IS NOT THE TRUTH. THE TERRORISTS HOLD SWAY, ARMED WITH GUNS AND THE LICENCE TO KILL, AS WAS PROVED AT MOGA RECENTLY. A REPORT BY SANJEEV GAUR.

SIDDHARTH Shankar Ray takes pride in claiming that he finished the Naxalite movement in West Bengal. He says he will finish the terrorist movement in Punjab too. He has been saying this since April 2, 1988, when he took over as Governor of Punjab.

During the past few months, wherever he went he has been harping on the same theme: that there has been a marked improvement in the law and order situation after Operation Black Thunder and the people are no more with the terrorists...the terrorists have lost public support...the terrorists are on the run. But one wonders whether the people of Punjab were ever with the terrorists. And the answer is a firm no. The people of Punjab were never with the terrorists. Even during the days of Bhindranwale the terrorists did not enjoy mass support. There is no denying the truth that the people of Punjab — both Hindus and Sikhs — have all along opposed the menace of terrorism.

But Mr Ray, would have us believe that the people of Punjab turned against the terrorists only after Operation Black Thunder. This man loves to pat himself on the back.

Mr Ray's tall claims notwithstanding, the truth remains that the Khalistani terrorists are very much alive and kicking. No doubt, a large number of terrorists have been killed and arrested during President's rule, but the killings have not stopped. To quote the Government, the terrorists killed 815 people from May 1987 to December 1987 — the first six months of Mr Ray's regime. In 1988, the terrorists killed 1,839 people in Punjab. In the first five months of the current year, 438 people were killed by terrorists. And 77 people were killed by terrorists in the first 20 days of June.

But Mr Ray claims that there has been a marked improvement in the law and order situation ever since he took over as head of the State after the unceremonious dismissal of the Surjit Singh Barnala Government in May 1987 on the eve of the Haryana election.

Mr Ray says that during the Barnala regime, a number of towns and cities remained under curfew for days together, the terrorists launched a movement to ban smoking and drinking and Bhindranwale tapes were played in private buses plying all over the State. The Governor says that under his regime, all these things have been brought to an end.

But what about the new trends in terrorism, including large-scale extortion of money from people at random, particularly in the border districts, and the brutal attempt by terrorists to close down the Hind Samachar Group of Jalandhar publishing three major vernacular dailies? Five newspaper hawkers and an agent were gunned down by terrorists during June. Even a day before the dastardly carnage at Moga, in which 25 innocent people, including 20 RSS men, were killed in a shoot-out followed by a bomb blast, the Governor, while addressing a function in Ludhiana district, claimed "marked improvement" in law and order. Within less than 24 hours, he had to eat humble pie.

On May 18, the Panthic Committee issued a hand-out, warning the Hind Samachar Group to close down its publications by May 22. Reason? According to the Panthic Committee, the Hind Samachar Group had been carrying on an "anti-Sikh" propaganda in its three dailies — Hind Samachar (Urdu), Punjab Kesari (Hindi) and Jagbani (Punjabi).

Next day, Mr Ray addressed a Press conference at the secretariat in Chandigarh. During the Press conference, one of the reporters, who had also received the Panthic Committee Press release, sought Mr Ray's reaction to the threat posed to the Hind Samachar Group. Pat came the reply from the Governor: "I am also under threat". Realising that he had made a blunder, after a pause, the Governor added: "We are looking into the matter".

Within a fortnight, terrorists shot dead five newspaper hawkers and one agent of the Hind Samachar Group. The killings of the hawkers created such a scare among all those working for the group, including journalists, that a large number of them began thinking of quitting the group to save their lives. One agent, based at Chandigarh, did say goodbye to the Hind Samachar Group.

According to reports from different parts of Punjab, a large number of poor hawkers and small agents virtually disappeared from towns and cities after terrorists began killing hawkers and agents. A number of cities and towns of Punjab went without Punjab Kesari and the two dailies of the group for days together. Chandigarh has been going without the three dailies of the Group for the last nearly 20 days.

The bitter truth is that the law and order situation has worsened during President's rule, at least in the three border districts — Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Ferozepur. Reports from the three districts present a very frightening picture. It is said that after sunset, another regime takes over in the countryside of the three border districts. Gangs of terrorists freely roam about in the villages, they enter houses at random and collect "jazia" (tax).

Poor people are suffering at the hands of both the terrorists as well as the security forces, especially the Punjab Police. There is rampant corruption in the police force and the Governor is aware of the fact, but is not ready to take action, at least not against the big sharks like the Senior Superintendents of Police and the Deputy Inspector-Generals of Police. A few months ago, the Governor's adviser, J. F. Ribeiro, the former Director-General of Punjab Police, had sent him (Mr Ray) a detailed note, recommending action against a number of senior State police officers, including some SSP's and DIG's.

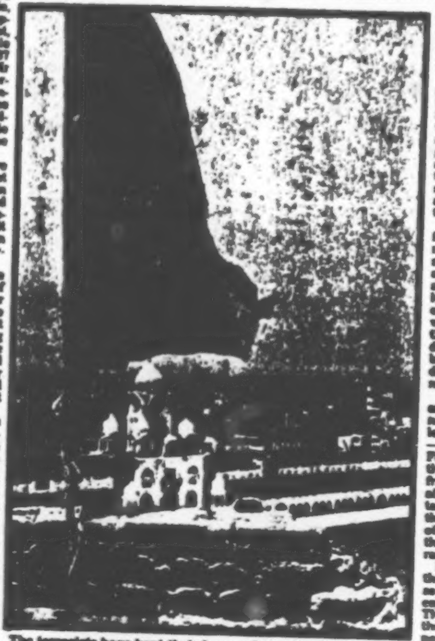
The Governor's order on the note was "Let the DGP decide..." The message was loud and clear. Obviously, the DGP, K P S Gill, did not take action against any police officers. Mr Ribeiro has been marginalised.

It is said that at least three senior Punjab police officers have been involved in land-grabbing. The Governor is full aware of the "illegal activities" of the police officers, but obviously he does not want to take action against them for reasons best known to him. Maybe fighting terrorists is his top priority, and he is not bothered about anything else.

The joke in Punjab today is that 80 per cent of the land has been grabbed by police officers and the remaining 20 per cent by the Nihangs.

The hollowness of the claims about improvement in law and

(continued on page)



The terrorists have kept their banner flying despite tall claims by the Government. The flag has now come to symbolise death, doom and misery. Pic: Jyoti Malhotra.

> Last year, terrorists killed 1,839 people in Punjab. In the first five months of this year, 438 people were killed.

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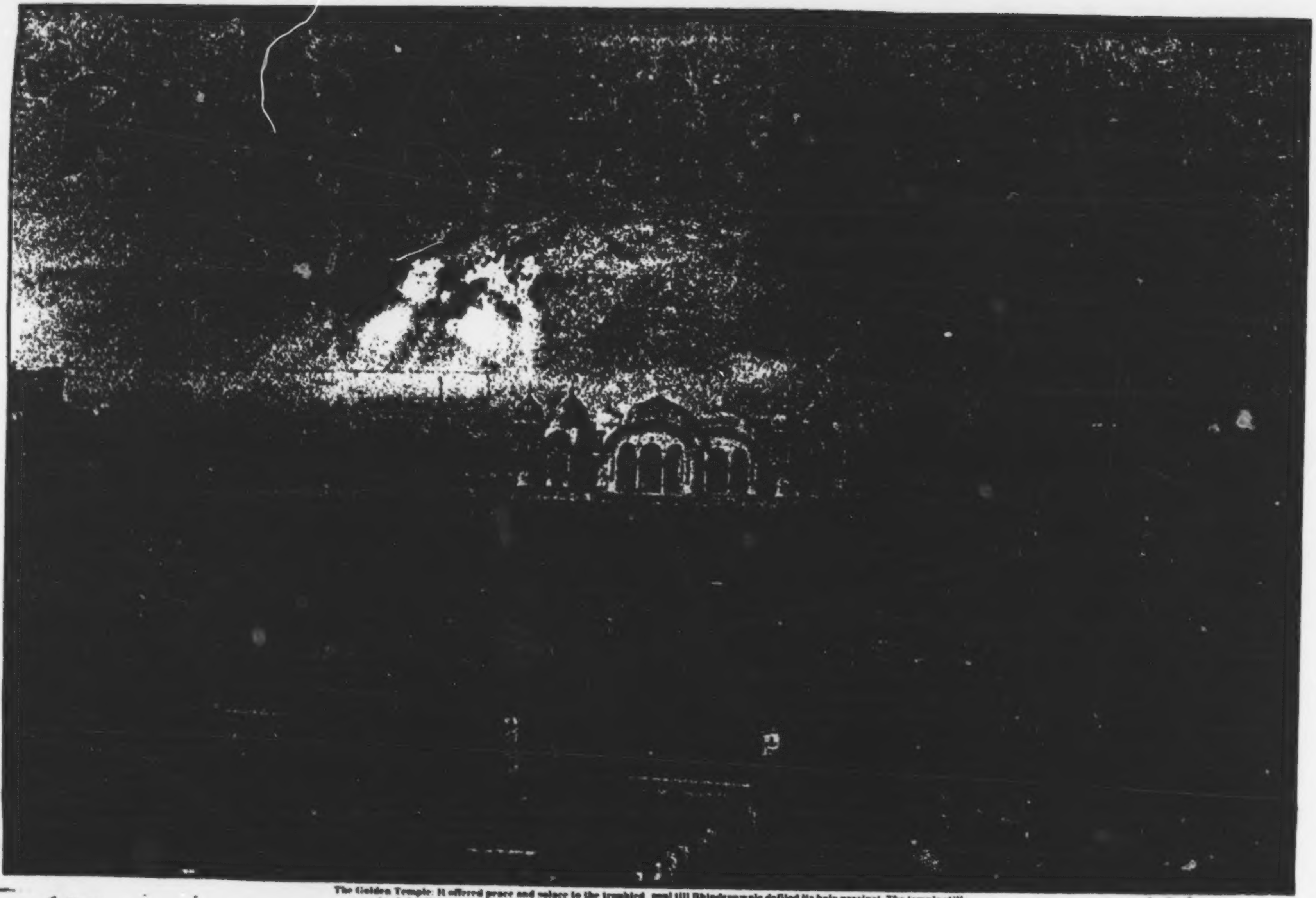

The Golden Temple: It offered peace and solace to the troubled soul till Bhindranwale defiled its holy precinct. The temple still [illegible] but it has been occupied by killers who are neither Hindus nor Sikhs. Pic: Nirmal Singh.

Rajya Sabha uproar over P.M.'s remark

Opposition wants apology

From Our Special Representative

NEW DELHI, Tuesday. — The Rajya Sabha was thrown into turmoil this morning when Opposition members blocked Question Hour demanding an apology from the Prime Minister for his having referred to them as "limpets" in the other House yesterday. Argument was followed by slogan-shouting, and finally a walk-out.

Mr Rajiv Gandhi, who answers questions on Tuesdays, said he was ready to debate the issue of resignations from the Lok Sabha, and was prepared for Question Hour to be suspended. Mr P. Shiv Shankar, leader of the House, initially argued that there was nothing wrong with what Mr Gandhi had said, but later accused the Opposition for lacking a sense of humour.

The Chairman, Dr Shankar Dayal Sharma, did not respond to the Opposition's plea that as custodian of the dignity of the House he ask the Prime Minister to retract. Dr Sharma remained aloof, let the uproar continue, only now and then pointing out that Question Hour should not be disrupted. He later criticized the behaviour, saying he was "ashamed".

While Mr Gandhi more than once made it clear he was ready for a debate, Opposition members said insult could not be debated. The Prime Minister did not reply to a pointed query from Mrs Renuka Chowdhury (TD) about whether he felt justified in calling Opposition members what he did.

The House erupted as soon as the Chairman walked in at 11 a.m., the leaders of the Opposition parties were on their feet protesting against Mr Gandhi having called them "limpets" for not resigning.

Mr Dipen Ghosh (CPI-M) opened the barrage: "The P.M. has flouted rules by referring to this House in the other". "He should be made to answer, to apologize", said Mr L. K. Advani (BJP), and Mr M. S. Gurupadaswamy (JD) maintained that "the Prime Minister used the floor of the other House to cast aspersions on this House. Is it proper or right?" Declaring that "it is our right to resign" Mr Ghosh wanted the Prime Minister to withdraw the remark.

Mr Gandhi said he was willing "to cancel Question Hour and debate now if the Opposition wants".

"No question of debate", said Mr P. Upendra (TD), "insult is insult, not a matter of debate" said Mr Gurupadaswamy.

Mr Shiv Shankar asked "what's wrong with what the PM said about you resigning? It is absolutely justified" but Mr Gurupadaswamy said Mr Gandhi had insulted Parliament, it was unprecedented that remarks were expunged and then restored, "I want to tell the Prime Minister that it is not a matter for debate or discussion".

Mr Gandhi said it was "highly unfortunate that facts are taken as insult". Adding, "I fail to understand what the Opposition objection is, if they are willing to articulate their objection..." Opposition members were shouting loud. "Who is a limpet?" asked Mr Gurupadaswamy.

'P.M. must resign to avoid split in Cong.(I)'

From Our Staff Correspondent

NEW DELHI, Tuesday. — Mr H. N. Nanjae Gowda, who was expelled from the Congress(I) in the past week immediately after he wrote to the Prime Minister criticizing the ruling party's handling of the CAG report in Parliament, said here today that if the Prime Minister did not resign immediately, the Congress(I) would split.

Disclosing that 45 ruling party MPs had congratulated him for his move in the past 48 hours since he returned here, Mr Nanje Gowda said "I have dropped a stone in a pond. If the fish in the pond are alive, the ripple will make move away."

Congress-I not weakened by Opposition action: P.M.

From Our Special Representative

NEW DELHI, July 28. — The Prime Minister said today that the recent actions of the Opposition had not weakened the Congress(I) which was confident that it enjoyed the trust and confidence of the people, and that this would be decisively reflected in the coming general elections.

The Opposition action had only undermined democracy and weakened democratic institutions. "This approach to politics chosen by the Opposition went against the ideals of democracy that Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru stood for".

Addressing a meeting of the Congress(I) Parliamentary Party, Mr Gandhi expressed his regret that whereas his party was trying to strengthen democracy by measures like the devolution of power to the people (through the Panchayati Raj and Nagarpalika Bills), "the Opposition is bent upon weakening the very roots of democracy".

The Prime Minister did not like to go into the details of what has been said in the Comptroller and Auditor-General's report. The Government's position has been made clear in the last two days by the Defence Minister, Mr K. C. Pant. Mr Gandhi added that the Congress(I) wished to discuss and debate the CAG report.

The Government had wanted the CAG report to be referred to the Public Accounts Committee. But both in the Lok Sabha and in the Rajya Sabha the Opposition had made the report an issue and demanded that it should be discussed. The Congress(I) readily agreed to this demand and called for an immediate debate. The important point is that it was the Opposition which had demanded the debate. Perhaps the only fault of the Congress(I) was that it responded and agreed to the Opposition's demand immediately. "Rather than going through with their own demand for a discussion, the Opposition ran away," he said.

The Prime Minister said that the question should be asked as to why the Opposition ran away. It was because they realised that there was nothing in the CAG report against him (the Prime Minister). "If any one looks at the audit report, one would note that the report had looked at issues from the financial angle. If the CAG report does contain any reference to the Prime Minister, it focusses attention on the Prime Minister's noting on the need to tighten financial evaluation procedures and make them through. The report only asked why the directive of the Prime Minister was not taken into account".

Mr Gandhi said that it was now clear that the actions of the Opposition did not arise because of what was contained in the CAG report or out of any respect or regard that they had for democracy or for the Constitution. The Opposition wished to have some publicity from their theatrics. The people of the country "would, however, see through their game," Mr Gandhi asserted.

PTI adds. Mr Gandhi said that well-known Opposition leaders like Mr A. B. Vajpayee and Mr L. K. Advani of the BJP and Mr Jyoti Basu and Mr E.M.S. Namboodiripad of the CPI(M), who had different and distinct ideological and national perspectives, were today being "led in the political stage to participate in a drama by someone whose only claim to fame was the celluloid".

The Government is almost ready with the proposed constitutional amendment Bill devolving powers to municipalities, corporations and nagarpalikas.

Conveying this to Congress(I) M.P.s, the Prime Minister said the constitutional amendment Bill will come up for consideration and approval by the Cabinet tomorrow. This issue had also been gone into by the CPP(I) group on nagarpalikas, chaired by Mr R. L. Bhatia.

Our Special Representative adds: The Congress(I) Working Committee today adopted a four-page political resolution which criticised the Opposition for causing "serious erosion of the very basis of our parliamentary democracy. It is a measure of their political desperation that the Opposition violated every norm and tradition of parliamentary behaviour and decorum towards the end of the term of the eighth Lok Sabha".

The resolution said that "after obstructing the proceedings in defiance of the Chair, the Opposition staged the drama of resigning their seats. This action is a violation of the trust reposed by the people who elected them. It is indicative of the desire of the Opposition to run away from issues rather than face them".

The working committee said: "It is now clear that by running away from the Lok Sabha, the Opposition has demonstrated to the people that apart from negative obstruction, it has nothing positive to offer to the people".

The CWC(I) said that the Opposition was engaging in "cheap tactics" as it was seeing the spectre of defeat looming large as in 1971

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INDIAN EXPRESS

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RESIGNATION OF 73 MPs ACCEPTED

Express News Service

New Delhi, July 24: In an event unparalleled in the history of Indian parliament, 73 opposition members resigned from the Lok Sabha on Monday in protest against the stubborn refusal of the government to quit in the wake of CAG report on the Bofors deal. Thirtyfive other opposition MPs who had not reached here on Monday are scheduled to follow suit in a day or two.

The mass resignation by the opposition MPs began soon after the Lok Sabha assembled for the question hour on Monday. The Telugu Desam leader, Mr. Madhav Reddy, was the first to offer his resignation soon after the Speaker called the House to order. Then followed the other party leaders and MPs.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, who made his first appearance in the House during the current session despite being at the centre of the controversy, sat through the question hour without reacting as one opposition member after the other handed over his resignation to the Speaker, Mr. Balram Jakhar.

Mr. Gandhi was seen occasionally talking to the Defence Minister, Mr. K.C. Pant, and the Parliamentary Affairs Minister, Mr. H.K.L. Bhagat. He left soon after the question hour.

The speaker announced the acceptance of resignation of 69 members immediately after the question hour. Later in the day four more opposition members – Mr. Charanjit Singh Athwal (Akali Dal), Mr. Asoke Sen (Janata Dal), Mr. V.S. Rao (TDP) and Mr. Ananda Pathak (CPM) – also submitted their resignation. The acceptance of their resignation was announced by the Deputy Speaker, Mr. Thambi Durai, before the House rose for the day.

The resignations have come as a sequel to the contemptuous disregard that the ruling party has shown to the findings of the Comptroller and Auditor General on the Bofors deal. The idea of resignation floated by the Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister, Mr. N.T. Rama Rao, got the ready approval of all opposition parties barring known allies of the Congress-I.

Mr. Madhav Reddy, who set the trend, got up the moment the Speaker called the name of the first questioner.

Much of what Mr. Reddy said was drowned in the din of protests from treasury benches. Later a copy of his submission was made available in which he said that he had given notice for suspension of the question hour. But there had been no response.

He argued that the government had lost the confidence of the people and forfeited the right to be in power. The House had unfortunately become a very ineffective constitutional framework and lost its representative character.

"We feel that no purpose will be served by our continuing to function as members of such a House. It is unfortunate that instead of accepting the CAG verdict, the ruling party has mounted a massive attack on the supreme constitutional authority.

We have therefore decided to go to the people to protest peacefully outside this House. The people are the ultimate judges, and they will not fail to give their verdict.

"We had to take this extreme step due to the stubborn refusal of Government to resign in the wake of the CAG's report indicting the government in the Bofors gun deal

"I, therefore, announce my resignation in the House and I hereby hand over my resignation letter to my membership of the House with effect from today."

After reading out his submission, Mr. Madhav Reddy walked to the well of the House and handed over his resignation letter to the secretary-general. He was followed by other opposition leaders like Mr. Basudev Acharia (CPM), Mr. Madhu Dandavate (Janata), Mr. Indrajit Gupta (CPI), Mr. K.P. Unnikrishnan, Mr. Kishore Chandra Deo, Mr. V.P. Singh, Mr. Arun Nehru, Mr. Dinesh Goswami, Mr. Arif Mohammed Khan, Mr. Somnath Chatterjee. Soon, almost the entire opposition benches became vacant.

Most of the members, after handing over the letter of resignation, took leave of the Speaker with either a 'namaste' or by shaking hands with him even as the ruling party members hooted and tried to ridicule them.

It was left to Mr. Gandhi's party spokesman like Mr. N.G. Ranga and Mr. K.K. Tewary, and the members of "friendly opposition" like Mr. G.B. Banatwala and Mr. P. Kolandaivelu to lambast the opposition for the mass resignation. Mr. Tewary, as was his wont, claimed that the resignations were not voluntary but forced by "a corrupt oligarchy."

Accepted: The Speaker said he could not say anything about the background and could go by only what happened in front of him. Later, he read out the name of 69 opposition members who had tendered their resignations to him and announced that he was accepting the resignations". Soon afterwards, two more opposition members walked out to the secretary-general to hand over their resignation letters.

With opposition benches practically empty, ruling party members, in particular, Mr. N.G. Ranga, Mr. G.S. Dhillon, Mr. B.R. Bhagat, Mr. N.C. Chaturvedi, launched all-out attack on the opposition for what they called was its "assault on parliamentary democracy" through the mass resignations.

At one stage, Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs, Shiela Dikshit, intervened to clarify that there had been no attempt by the government to delay the placing of the CAG report in the House. Responding to a suggestion from Mr. Dhillong, that it might ave been better for the government to have laid the report in the last session itself, she said the report had to be seen by the President and then only could it be placed in the House. As such there had been no delay whatever on the part of the government to lay the report on the table of the House, she contended.

By-elections urged: Deploring these resignations as a "cheap election stunt," Mr. G.M. Banatwalla (IUML) urged the Prime Minister to "hold by-elections immediatley" in the constituencies from where the opposition members had resigned, adds UNI.

This, he said, would obviate the delay in the people giving their verdict on the dereliction of duty" by the opposition parties.

Mr. Dhillon said the report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General had never been made the basis of the resignation of the Prime Minister or any minister in the past.

The government in fact had been so accommodating on the issue as to have allowed the opposition an opportunity of discussion over the report when in the normal course it should have first gone to the Public Accounts Committee.

Calling the opposition demand for the Prime Minister's resignation as "unheard of", Mr. Dhillon said his fear was that the discussion of the CAG report before its consideration by the PAC might become a precedent for the future.

Mr. Frank Anthony (Nom) said he had always been a strong advocate of an "ultra strong centre." The opposition move, he said, was holding Parliament and the Speaker "to ransom."

Referring to the CAG report, Mr. Anthony took exception to "an accountant" giving "opinion on the quality of the Bofors gun."

Mr. Kali Prasad Pandey (Ind) said he had been approached by the opposition leaders to resign. He had asked them if they were prepared to resign again after Mr. Rajiv Gandhi came back to power in the next elections.

AIADMK members Kolandaivelu called the resignations as "a poll gimmick."

Mr. Bakavi Bairagi (Cong-I) also gave his reaction through a Hindi coupled saying this was not the way to go away from the "gathering". For those who go like this do not come back.

Earlier, the leaders of the 12 opposition parties at an informal meeting decided the modalities for their members to submit resignations. It was decided that those present in the House would hand over their resignation letters in the House while the rest would do so in the Speaker's chamber.

Well before 11 a.m., the Lok Sabha gallery was full. Those who were to witness to the unprecedented action of their colleagues included Mr. A.B. Vajpayee and Mr. L.K. Advani (both BJP), Mr. M.S. Gurupadaswamy, Mr. Bapu Kaldate, Mr. Satpal Malik and Mr. Virendra Verma (all Janata Dal), Mr. Dipen Ghosh (CPI-M), Mr. P. Upendra and Ms. Renuka Chowdhary (both TD).

Haryana Chief Minister Devi Lal was among those present in the Speaker's gallery

Opposition MPs coming out of Parliament after submitting their resignations on Monday. *PTI*

Left committed gravest mistake: K. N. Singh

Express News Service

New Delhi, July 24: The leftist parties have committed the "gravest mistake" after 1942 by joining hands with other opposition forces in resigning from the Lok Sabha, according to AICC-I general secretary K. N. Singh.

Mr. Singh, who always professes his leftist leanings, said here on Monday that either the CPM general secretary, Mr. E.M.S. Namboodiripad, "is confused or he is under influence of the West Bengal line" of his party.

He said seeing Mr. Namboodiripad, Mr. N. T. Rama Rao and Mr. L. K. Advani on the same platform was strange. In 1987, he added, the leftist parties joined hands with the erstwhile Jana Sangh and repented.

In his opinion, the resignation of opposition MPs from the Lok Sabha was "a victory of fundamentalist forces like the BJP over the secular and democratic forces."

VILLAGE VIGNETTES

Vir Pal: Rasmai's father-figure

By SHOBHA SINGH

For Vir Pal, a retired teacher, the task closest to his heart is the improvement of the village schools. Their plight induced in him a zeal to improve, rebuild and refurnish them and even demolish and start afresh, if need be.

VIR PAL grew up in the toss and tumble of Rasmai village, but unlike his playmates' parents, his were progressive enough to send him to Mathura for higher education. The bright youth completed M.A. in history and became a professor in the Degree College at Bulandshahr in 1958.

His first love was farming and even while teaching, he made it a point to visit his 18 acres of land in Rasmai at least twice a year. His popularity at the campus was nothing compared to the regard he was held in at the village. Having retired recently, he contested the Pradhan's elections held on June 6, 1988, and was elected with 747 votes for a five-year term. The professor is the most highly educated and widely travelled Pradhan the village has ever had.

The Pradhan has already initiated "chakbandi" a local term referring to consolidation of land and making uniform fields out of the scattered, small plots. Spare land is allotted to the needy and encroachers on the village roads are removed. It is not a particularly pleasant job, says the Pradhan. "The biggest obstacle to recovering the Gram Sabha land is the illegal encroachment. There is an acute shortage of housing space for the landless labourers. After the "chakbandi" I will redistribute the spare land to deserving persons. Some influential villagers have illegally grabbed land. We will try persuasion, failing which, we will resort to legal action."

Vir Pal has the support of the villagers.

The other commitment of the Pradhan is the repairing of village roads and lanes.

Vir Pal has started collecting funds and sought a government grant to repair the main road.

Another immediate task for the retired teacher, one which is closest to his heart, is the improvement of the village schools. Their plight, seen during several inspections, induced in a zeal to improve, rebuild, refurnish them and even demolish and start afresh, if need be.

The professor said the Nasirpur-Rasmai hamlets have three primary schools, but devoid of teachers who are frequently on French leave. "I have rarely found a teacher during my inspections. The village-based teacher has land, cattle or other business to attend to, which he does at the cost of the school. The master feels no compunction in appropriating the government grant meant for the school and the scholarship money meant for the poor SC/ST students. Most masters illegally take Rs. 5 to 10 for passing and promoting students. In any case, the government grant of Rs. 300 to 500 per annum per school is grossly inadequate. None of the Rasmai schools has a boundary wall. Villagers use the premises for dumping rubbish, tying cattle and drying cow-dung cakes. One of the schools doesn't even have doors. Leave alone chairs, there is no mat, black-board or chalk," Vir Pal lamented.

The Pradhan has tried admonishing the erring teachers, and will ask for their transfers if they fail to mend their ways.

Having dealt with these issues, Vir Pal will tackle the village money-lenders who virtually control the lives of the poor. He is also concerned about the total lack of industry — small or big — in this area and the migration of all promising youths to Agra and Delhi.

The erratic electricity supply and non-functional water taps are other priorities before the Pradhan. Filled with hope, the new Pradhan says that Nasirpur-Rasmai will have its own electric sub-station within two years.

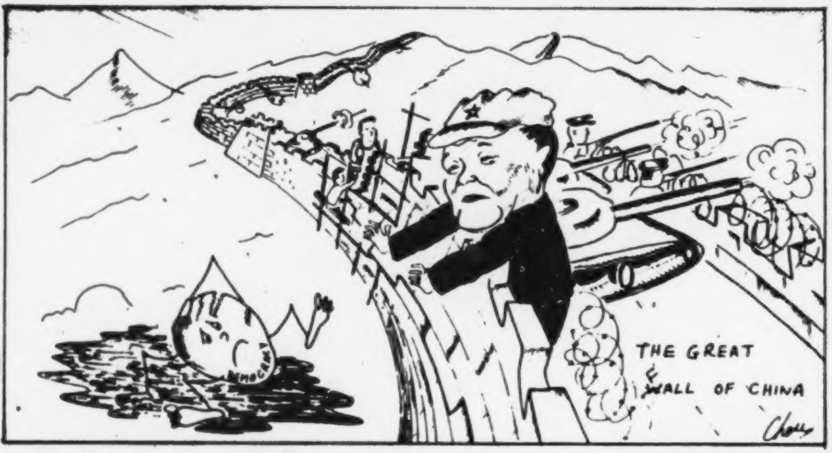
Yet, his assurance lacks conviction for the villagers accustomed to broken promises. The government barely exists for Rasmai. The BLock Development Officer lives in Sadabad Tehsil and is never seen in these parts. The District Collector in Mathura, living in splendid isolation has never paid Rasmai a visit. The Pradhan and his Gram Sabha are on their own.

Those who are afraid of freedom

GUEST COLUMN

Ramchandra Gandhi

A YOUNG woman jogger in New York's Central Park is assaulted and gang-raped and left to die (she miraculously survives and reports her ordeal) by a group of fifteen-year-old boys who describe their action as "wilding". The young woman was white, yuppie, and her boy-assailants mostly black and marginalised but by no means poor. Racial and social hatred could not by themselves have precipitated this horrendous crime, nor conventional psychotic disorientation, of which the articulate rapists were embarrassingly free. And there was no history of enmity between victim and tormentors, they were perfect strangers to one another. Why did the boys nevertheless yield to the wilding impulse? What is wilding? It has to do with perfect strangeness, I am afraid; with rigidity's envy of flexibility.



I suggest that the violators of the young woman perceived her as being threateningly "other" and sought to humiliate and destroy her, but not predominantly because she embodied the conventional "othernesses" of being white and a woman and socially more advantaged than themselves. These factors probably only triggered their perception of the running figure as a free spirit, free as the wind, liberated from rigid self-identity unlike themselves in their self-image, she did not seem a mere given item of biology or biography, society or history.

For the closely defined, there is nothing more threateningly "other" than the ill-defined or the indefinable. Wilding is a bash at any and all indefinable, unconventional, otherness; a hatred of spirit's freedom, a resentment of self's inclusiveness. More incurable than racism and religious exclusivism, its victims include Christs and Gandhis; and throngs of students and citizens campaigning for democracy and integrity, as witnessed recently in Beijing's Tiananmen Square. Like the running woman, they represented the joy of an unenclosed identity, the longing for liberation from dualistic definitions. Inevitably, they attracted the wilding attention of a regime which has revelled in the closed racial and ideological identity of sectarian communism. Sharply self-defined tyranny could not tolerate the perfect strangeness of open, ordinary, humanity.

Mercifully, China's modern leadership is metaphysically illiterate and unable to comprehend the explosive illumination of Tibetan Buddhism, which, like Vedanta and all mystical traditions of the world, is deeply destructive of all closed definitions of reality, human or non-human. Consequently, Chinese repression in Tibet has not yet attained wilding proportions, harsh though it is in its manifestations of hegemonic, racial, and ideological arrogance against a proud but defenceless people. But the terror of Tiananmen Square has made Tibet very vulnerable now, because even metaphysical illiteracy cannot prevent the butchers of Beijing from discerning the counter-revolutionary similarity between the sophistication of Mahayana Buddhism and the subtle, subversive, ordinariness of the satyagrahis storming the Gate of Heavenly Peace. It is not India's military uninvolvement, but our government's moral silence over Tibet all these years that makes us accomplices in the evolution of ideological criminality in China. The Indian Marxist contribution to this process is that it is of course an internal affair of China's and falls outside the jurisdiction of our moral assessment.

Tiananmen Square is not only probably the oldest continuously inhabited square of human civilisation; it is also symbolically the womb of Mother China, where the purity of each new generation conceived by her is submitted to the gaze of her midwife rulers. The young and brave children who recently manifested, there must have looked like monstrosities of miscegenation to the ageing midwives monitoring their dangerously ordinary animation from behind closed palace chambers. These children were certainly canonically Chinese in appearance and reality; but in their trans-nationalist intimacy with non-mainland Chinese and other members and societies of the human species, they were more than Chinese. The committed youngsters were identifiably the children of revolutionary workers and intellectuals; but their Confucian civic solidarity was dangerously different from the manipulable mass hysteria of recent revolutionary generations. The agitators were certainly influenced by libertarian thought, but their adoration of the Goddess of Liberty was more an acknowledgement of the sacredness of democracy and accountability than capitalist worship of wealth and the pursuit of happiness. And there was more conscience than conspiracy to their movement, more pride than sustaining power.

Grotesque monsters! Abort them! Mother China cannot survive their birth! Thus cried the midwives in closed door assessments of the situation, and ordered a bewildered liberation army to abort the salvational blossoming of the innate moral and metaphysical wisdom of humanity even in a closed society. A miracle was snuffed out; or so it seemed.

THE meaning of the regression from civilisation on June 4 in Beijing is unforgettably communicated by a photograph taken at the scene of the perfidy and published on June 9 by London's *New Statesman and Society*. The photograph shows a haze of helmets massed together in the foreground in an image of unpersuadable malevolent resolution, their wearers invisible, faceless: a murder machine. Visible just above the mound of helmets, and facing the executioners, is a heartbreakingly beautiful Chinese child with folded hands apparently pleading with the first squad to spare his life and the life of the invisible but easily imagined parent upon whose shoulders he is held aloft for the world to behold the poignant face of abused truth. That child is also Christ on the Cross forgiving his killers because they are ignorant, Gandhi acknowledging with folded hands the divine essence even of his anger-crazed assassin. And even more profoundly than poignantly, that child is indefinable and yet undeniable self-knowledge blossoming implausibly in our self-deluded age and towering victoriously but precariously above all closed, isolating, deadening definitions of who we are, which are symbolised in the same photograph by the massing together of the indistinguishable helmets: hopefully, that divine child promises a post-ideological, even a post-humanist, identity for humanity.

> **"IT has been reported by astronauts and cosmonauts that the Great Wall of China is the only handiwork of human civilisation on earth that is visible to the naked eye from outer space. It is a profoundly embarrassing reminder of our ability to build walls around ourselves."**

It has been reported by astronauts and cosmonauts that the Great Wall of China is the only handiwork of human civilisation on earth that is visible to the naked eye from outer space. While this fact is certainly a tribute to the engineering capabilities of our species, it is also a profoundly embarrassing reminder to us that our ability to build walls around ourselves of one kind or another is the only feature of our life on earth which is discernible from any significant distance of perspective.

Satellite television and courageous reporting have, however, consolingly brought to our attention a profoundly compensatory ability of ours, deeply repressed but not easily destroyed: the ability to appropriate an open square of liberating identity and accountable humanity, and to renounce the dubious protection of closed walls which define us rigidly and divide us dangerously from other human beings and societies; from other living beings and species; from the humble inorganicity of nature and the breath-taking expanse of emptiness.

The martyrs of Tiananmen Square, like the young woman victim of wilding in New York's Central Park, have the power of inaugurating a new spiritually and ecologically sensitive civilisation for humanity, a civilisation more widely celebratory of life than anthropocentric capitalism or communism can ever be, and more attuned to the mystery of existence, than religious fundamentalism can ever be. But the Gorbachevs and Bushes and Rajiv Gandhis and Benazir Bhuttos and Premadasas of the three worlds must loudly enough support their cause before it is too late! They have nothing to lose but illusory walls of narrow self-definition, and a whole universe of sympathy and self-realisation to gain for themselves and their peoples. Meanwhile, our government's failure even remotely to criticise the Beijing carnage, and Doordarshan's censorship of it, must count amongst the most abject appeasements of tyranny in modern times and will not help us recover a square inch of sovereignty lost to China, and rightly too.

Ramchandra Gandhi is an eminent philosopher and author. He is the grandson of Mahatma Gandhi.

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'Even Congress poll says 190 at best'

By CHANDAN MITRA

THERE is something about Arun Nehru that conveys the feeling that he is in command. It can't be anything else. Probably that's what cousin Rajiv didn't like. But as the opposition's principal tactician — although not strategist — Arun Nehru carries a great deal of weight. Supremely confident of an opposition victory, he spoke at length on the coming election — Excerpts:

Q. Would you agree that in the last two months or so the Congress has regained the political initiative?

A. I don't think so at all. The assumption behind all this talk is that the people are ignorant; that they do not know the realities.

You see, trends are not made and unmade in urban drawing rooms, in the cocktail circuit, so to speak. I think if anyone saw Vishwanath's (V. P. Singh's) programmes over the last few days, the trend would be very obvious. In Rajasthan, some of the best meetings in history were held. You would remember we started off with a rally in Hardwar two-and-a-half years ago. There has been no let up in public support so far.

Yes, we have had some problems of our own lately. But this must be seen in perspective. If you try to merge three parties together, there are bound to be problems. Besides, we couldn't hold elections to posts in the merged party since there was no time. So for every post there are 200 candidates. That is but natural. That's what democracy is all about.

But the real thing is what is happening on the ground. You can't assess the political situation by which leader is saying what about which leader. That's not real politics at all. At the ground level there is massive support for Vishwanath Pratap Singh, and that's what really matters.

Q. But doubts persist about the opposition's ability to unite. Will you reach complete agreement about seat sharing?

A. The reality is that there will be a one-to-one fight in the elections. Now it doesn't matter if Subramaniam Swamy comes up with his list of 500 candidates. It is simply irrelevant. The important thing is that people see this as a one-to-one fight.

Q. What will be the outcome in that event?

A. Well, the Congress has done its own opinion polling and I believe according to their latest poll, they will get 190 seats with Rajiv's credibility at its highest. But this can go down to 140 seats. In our estimate, the Congress cannot win more than 150 seats, in the event of a one-to-one fight.

A PICTURE OF CONFIDENCE: Mr Arun Nehru outside his New Delhi home. — TOI photo by Sandeep Shankar.

Q: In the scenario that you have painted we may then have a situation in which for the first time since independence, the periphery will be stronger than the core. Do you think this will be acceptable?

A: Well, there are certain realities that simply cannot be avoided. The point is that we are at present going through a historical process prior to 1969, it was the opposition state governments that were collapsing. Since '69 it is the Congress states which are collapsing.

In other words, things can never remain constant. The sixties were different from the seventies and the nineties will be different from the eighties. The fact is that the Telugu Desam, DMK, AGP and such parties are a reality today. And they will have a major say. So it's not a question of the periphery being stronger than the core. If the national parties become weak, regional parties are bound to come up.

Q: But don't you think this may bother the so-called Hindi-heartland voter?

A: No, I don't think so, I'll give you my reasoning for it. People are increasingly realising that you cannot have stability in the system by deifying one leader. See what's happened to Rajiv. What is needed in a democratic system are strong leaders in the states and a strong team at the Centre. And then the system needs to be held together by popular support. That is what Vishwanath has today.

Besides, the basic point is that India has held together for 5,000 years and will hold together for another 10,000. So all this talk of there being no alternative, whether in terms of an individual or personality is really an insult to our intelligence.

Further, the fact is that Rajiv has destroyed the Congress party. Well, one has to accept that there can be nothing absolutely permanent. History tells us that. There wasn't Hitler's 1,000 year Reich, was there? The Congress has survived 100 years, okay. But times change. And there is nothing wrong if something new, something better, takes its place.

If you think people don't realise what's happening, or don't react to them, you're badly mistaken. The other day I was witness to a funny situation in which a mother was trying to persuade her three-year-old daughter that Rajiv Gandhi is the Prime Minister while the kid insisted, "Woh to Doordarshan [illegible] hai" (He's a Doordarshan staffer). You can't fool people, you see.

Q. Every government, however, is entitled to some measure of secrecy. How can an administration be run otherwise?

A. Well, this happens to be the leakiest government we've had. I have said this earlier, but I will repeat that every article which has damaged the government's credibility has been leaked by someone in the government. The postal bill, for example, was leaked from government files. You see, 99.9 per cent of the bureaucrats are not prepared to do something wrong, because they are aware of its consequences. So when you ask somebody to do something wrong, he leaks it out. And you can't blame him because all he's doing is taking out an insurance policy to protect himself in the future. Whenever the government forges documents, which it does regularly, somebody in the government informs us. I don't make a secret of it —, we have good sources in the government.

Q. If I may return to politics, what happens if assembly elections are held simultaneously with the Lok Sabha poll? Do you think the opposition will still manage to unite and put up a common candidate against the Congress in all seats?

A. First, let me tell you, my experience with quite a few elections is that money, posters, festoons, cars — all these things don't matter in the final analysis. They have sent one jeep each to all DCCs saying it must be given one day to Mahila Congress, one day to Youth Congress and so on. That is absurd. We know how these things happen. Anybody who gets hold of a jeep just disappears with it. They have also allotted one motor-cycle to the Youth Congress in every district. Can you imagine the chaos that will take place now? It's better not to give any bikes than give just one.

I am saying this because if assembly elections are held side by side with Lok Sabha elections all these problems will multiply many times. So, just because we may have a few more problems, it doesn't mean the Congress won't have its share of additional troubles. So, there is no great advantage to have simultaneous polls. Anyway, we are prepared for all eventualities. It will suit us more because the Congress will have trouble over ticket distribution given the fact that they have more sitting candidates than we do.

Q. What will be the main issue in the election: Corruption in high places?

A: I'll answer this with a story. During the Allahabad by-election, I went to our home, Anand Bhavan, and met an old member of the household staff. I asked him, "Kya ho raha hai?" (Tell me what's *happening,* what do you *feel?) He gave a very good reply. He said: "Rajiv ke bas ki baat nahi hai.* Rajiv bhaiya nahi chala sakte. Ye desh bahut bada hai unke liye". (Rajiv is simply not up to it. He can't run the country, it is too big for him).

Q: I see you are soft-pedalling the corruption issue now. What's happened?

A: What's there to soft-pedal? Everything is known. Bofors, submarines, Amitabh Bachchan, Buta Singh and his Lovelies and Swenies, Balram Jakhar... Is any more proof required in any of these cases? Well, even then, I believe more stuff is going to come out during the coming session of Parliament. These facts are firmly implanted in people's minds. There is no need to elaborate further. We know India has been up for sale. The proof is all there. But the government is trying to hide. All this is known and there's no point repeating because even papers will get tired of carrying the same thing over and over.

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ISMS: TERROR,SEPARAT, NATIONAL....

Isms could be religions as in Catholicism, or political philosophies as in socialism, or economic theories as in capitalism, or national conditions like nationalism or imperialism. This set of isms applicable to India and other nations today deal with internal problems and one of the methods employed to reach that goal (separatism and terrorism).

Nationalism is surging in Eastern Europe as Soviet satellites attempt to establish a new identity - Poland and Hungary. Even within the Soviet Union, nationalistic fervor is growing - Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia seek a greater voice. Riots have occurred in some of the southern republics as minority Armenians seek a separate area.

Within India many factors have lead to the desire on the part of certain groups to seek a new nation. Language, religion, ethnic identity are all major factors. In the Punjab, a minority of the oft-maligned Sikhs are seeking a separate state called Khalistan. In Kashmir, the Moslem majority wants to join Pakistan, the arch-enemy of India. In the northeast states, referred to as the "7 Sisters," "tribals," as the papers refer to them, are seeking redress for many alleged injustices. Generally, the government's attitude is one of contempt/disdain or one of overreaction as in the case of the Golden Temple at Amritsar. The armed guards and soldiers encamped by the homes of the wealthy and government officials in Delhi indicate the real threat of terrorism. Reality is that these people are dangerous and their goals are real although the eventuality of achieving separate states or dropping out of India are virtually impossible.

1) Compare India's separatist movements to those in the U.S.A. around 1860 and those taking place in the Soviet Union and Europe this year.

2) Read several of the articles and describe the government's attitude towards the separatists. What approaches would you suggest?

3) How does the government of India sow the seeds for its own demise in India? Give specific examples from the articles attached here.

Dealing with Punjab

By M. N. Buch

ONE of the most depressing things about our handling of the Punjab is the general air of pessimism, a certain *deja vu*, that pervades amongst the people at the top responsible for affairs there. Whilst there seems to be acceptance of terrorism as a long-term problem, there is also a comparison of the situation in Punjab with that in Northern Ireland. Whilst there may be points of similarity between the two situations, they are certainly not parallel. Northern Ireland is sharply divided on sectarian lines between people who are ethnically of the same Gaelic stock. The Roman Catholics, who are a minority by a small margin, want independence from the British and union with the Republic of Eire. The Protestant majority wants a continuation of the British union. The Catholic Irish Republican Army (IRA) was in the vanguard of the Sinn Fein revolt against British rule and its weapon was the gun. There is, therefore, a long history of violence in Ireland, going back to the medieval English attempts to establish hegemony. The Irish Protestants (Orangemen) have faced violence with violence. In Ireland there is a war of liberation on the one hand and a strong religious reaction on the other. Terrorism is an outcome of this situation and is one of the major tactics of war.

By contrast, neither the Punjab of Ranjit Singh, nor of John Lawrence, nor in the present day, is a scene of inter-racial, sectarian or religious conflict. The Sikh and the Hindu are not adversaries there. Nor is there a war of liberation, for even that much tortured soul, Simranjit Singh Mann, has publicly repudiated the nonsensical slogan of Khalistan. What we have in Punjab is a political struggle for power, pelf and influence, in which the Congress is as much a participant as the Akalis.

One must, therefore, see the Punjab political scene holistically. The difference between Punjab and other States is that in the former elements of religious bigotry, criminality, violence and hatred for Government have become intertwined with some of the most unprincipled politics in the country. However, restoration of ideologically sound politics, based on immutable values, would soon isolate the other elements. Permit me, therefore, to differ with the savants, including Julio Ribeiro, who compare Northern Ireland with Punjab, and submit my view that whilst the former probably represents an insuperable problem, the latter is amenable to a fairly rapid solution, provided we handle it properly.

This is not being done. I am not singing now in the Amnesty-PUCL-PUDR groove. I speak as one who spent 28 years in the IAS before resigning and who, had circumstances permitted, might have been called upon to officially place my views on record in files. The police is virtually king, with the paramilitary forces being judge, jury and executioner rolled into one. The District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police who, as a team, elsewhere protect the citizens from abuse of power by officials, are irrelevant and helpless spectators, a fact which is emphasised by SPs themselves. With the notorious torture techniques applied in Punjab to extract confessions, the law has been amended to permit admissibility of confessions before a designated police officer as evidence in a trial. People are picked up, illegally detained beyond 24 hours without being produced before a magistrate, subjected to third degree and, may be, killed. Mr N.S. Saksena, I.P. (Retd), a former police officer of great distinction, is on record to state that many encounters in Uttar Pradesh and Punjab are fake. The innocent die just as easily as the guilty if they happen to stand before an aimed gun.

Torture chambers

Are the citizens of Punjab not entitled to the equal protection of laws under Article 14 of the Constitution? Part III, Chapter 4, Indian Evidence Act, clearly lays the burden of proof on the party alleging a particular fact, that is, on the prosecution in a criminal case. A basic plank of Anglo-Saxon criminal jurisprudence, on which our laws are based, is that an accused is innocent till proved guilty. The so-called interrogation centres at Sangrur and in the Red Fort are our versions of the Gestapo torture chambers at Bendlerstrasse and we should be ashamed of them.

Of what value is torture? The information gained is unreliable and the danger of permanently harming an innocent person is great. When Aldo Moro, formerly Prime Minister of Italy, was kidnapped by the Red Brigade, the police detained a suspect. The investigating officer sought permission to apply extreme third degree. The answer of General G. dellq Chiesq, head of the Carabinieri, was classic. He said, "Italy can survive the death of Aldo Moro, but it cannot survive the reintroduction of torture."

Can India survive it? In any case the most debased butchers who run these interrogation chambers are but untutored kids when compared with the professionals of the Gestapo. Illegal arrest, torture and reprisal killings turned the French from a nation of collaborators into patriotic "Maquis", and in Yugoslavia tied down 40 divisions of German troops in anti-partisan operations during the Second World War. Will we end with every Punjabi being hostile to Government? Can we then rule Punjab?

Julio Ribeiro says that the Punjabis are totally fed up of terrorism, but they are not pro-Government. Terrorism will end within a year of the people accepting Government as a friend. Let us temporarily go back to the British system of ruling a turbulent province. They put one man in charge of each district, the DC, and centred all authority in him. The SP was his partner and running mate. As a non-regulation province the Punjab had a minimum of codes, laws and regulations and a maximum of local initiative. The DC and SP ran the show, the Governor held the reins loosely and gave gentle guidance. Judicial power also vested in the DC and wrong-doers were quickly booked after a summary trial. DCs and SPs were hand-picked and people reposed faith in their sense of justice and fairplay. Gerald Templar did much the same in Malaya, with the most telling results. What we have done is to try and govern Punjab from Delhi, make the DC irrelevant and let loose the paramilitary forces on a populace becoming increasingly hostile to their actions. What purpose will the Panchayati Raj in Punjab serve if the CRP can shoot people without fear of retribution?

Terrorism in Punjab can be contained and eliminated because that State is not Northern Ireland. For that to happen, New Delhi must shun political opportunism and give to the State an administration which is effective, pro-people and run by really top class officers.

Who's Who In Punjab Today

Continued from page 1

order is aptly summed up by Mr Gurbir Singh, a former general secretary of the Punjab PCC(I), when he explains: "On December 27, Ray said in Calcutta that 16 hardcore terrorists and 250 others have to be nabbed. Subsequently, Gill (DGP), said on January 29, that there were nearly 300 hardcore terrorists in Punjab. Since then, according to official figures, 330 terrorists have been killed and 1500 others captured. And still the terrorists are alive and kicking. This shows that Ray is either incompetent or he has misled the nation. In my opinion, [illegible] is both [illegible] and has misled the nation. Ray's corrupt administration based on police repression is directly responsible for spreading and sustaining terrorism".

Guess whos the lynchpin of the Khalistani terrorists in Punjab today? He is an old man; around seventy. He is a former director of the Health Services of Punjab. One of his sons, Swaran Singh Boparai, is a senior civil servant of the Punjab cadre. The old man's civil servant son is the son-in-law of the former Union External Affairs Minister, Swaran Singh. And the old man is Dr Sohan Singh.

He is a member of the new Panthic Committee, the central outfit of different terrorist groups operating in Punjab. Dr Sohan Singh is reported to have crossed over to Pakistan in the last week of May. This is his first visit to Pakistan. He has been underground for the past two years.

After Operation Bluestar, Dr Sohan Singh had made a fiery speech in one of the Chandigarh gurdwaras. A case of sedition was registered against him. he was arrested and later released on bail. He was inductea to the new Panthic Committee last year. Since then he has been more active. According to police sources. he is not only the main think tank of the Khalistani terrorists, but is also fully involved in chalking out strategy for the vanious killings.

The second most important man among the Punjab terrorists today is a former student of the Punjab Agriculture University, Ludhiana. His name is Daljit Singh Bitto. He is in his late twenties. He is the convenor of one of the factions of the militant All-India Sikh students Federation. He is believed to have played a major role alongwith Charanjit Singh Channi, nephew of senior Akali leader Jagdev Singh Talwandi, killed in a police encounter last month, in the reconstitution of the Panthic Committee.

According to the police, Bitto, too, is in Pakistan at present. He was a final year student of veterinary sciences at Ludhiana University when he gave up studies after Operation Bluestar and joined the terrorists.

Gurjant Singh Rajsthani, the brain behind the stunning Moga carnage, is at present heading the Khalistani Commando Force, believed to be the most effective and deadly among the terrorist groups. Gurjant Singh belongs to Ganganagar district in Rajasthan. He is believed to be close to the new Panthic Committee. There is another Gurjant Singh of village Budhsinghwala in Faridkot district. He is heading the Khalistan Liberation Force, another powerful terrorist group in Punjab today.

Kanwaljit Singh is another member of the new Panthic Committee, which according to Punjab Police chief K. P. S. Gill, has been calling the shots during the past one month. Kanwaljit Singh, a young man, belongs to Sultanwind area on the outskirts of Amritsar and has been active in both planning and taking part in the killings during the past nearly five years.

Mehal Singh, an ex-serviceman (he was in the Air Force) is also in the Panthic Committee. He should be in his early-forties, He belongs to the Babbar Khalsa, another key terrorist group, expert in the use of explosives. Sukhdev Singh, cousin of Mehal Singh, heads the Babbar Khalsa. Both belong to village Dasuwal in Amritsar district. According to police sources, both the brothers, at present, are in Pakistan.

3 terrorists among 8 shot in Punjab

CHANDIGARH, August 7 (UNI): Three terrorists and a medical practitioner were among eight persons killed while security forces arrested six ultras in Punjab during the past 24 hours. One Joginder Singh was shot dead near Moga in Faridkot district today.

Two unidentified terrorists were shot dead in an encounter between Barnala and Lahowali villages in Tarn Taran police district (Amritsar) this morning. One AK-47 rifle, eight magazines and three letter heads of the "Khalistan Commando Force" were recovered from the site of the encounter.

In another encounter in the same police district, security forces gunned down one more unidentified terrorist near Booh village last night. His three accomplices managed to escape.

The district police chief, Mr Baldev Singh, said some ammunition was recovered from the site of the encounter.

Terrorists shot dead two brothers at Dhardhian village in Majitha police district (Amritsar) this morning. The victims were identified as Sukhdev Singh and Davinder Singh.

Terrorists shot dead a bank gunman, identified sa Bishen Singh Rawat, in the industrial area here this morning. However, the Chandigarh home secretary, Mr P.K. Verma, claimed it was not a terrorist crime but a case of attempted robbery.

ARMS SEIZED: Security forces confiscated as many as 11,410 different types of arms including 38 rocket launchers, from Punjab between 1984 and July this year and these were lying with the State Government. The Minister of State for Home Affairs, Mr P Chidambaram, told Mr Samar Mukherjee in a written answer. As many as 17 rocket launchers, 575 pistols, 154 revolvers and 166 AK-47 rifles were confiscated this year alone, he added.

FOREIGN HAND: There is some evidence of terrorists in Jammu and Kashmir receiving support from sources outside India, Mr Chidambaram told Mr Anand Sharma in a written answer. According to information available, a number of persons from the Valley had received arms and training for creating disorder in the state. In reply to another question, the Minister said 691 organised spy networks were detected by the Government since 1980.

Deaths in custody cast shadow on police force

"Death in police custody alleged".

"Sub-inspector shoots rowdy to death".

"COD ordered to probe lock-up death".

Headlines like these appearing in the local press these days are indicative of the fact that of late deaths in police custody are quite frequent.

There have been three deaths in police custody this year in Bangalore, shaking further the already eroded confidence of the people in police force. Of the three incidents, the CBI and the COD have been asked to investigate one each while the third is under a departmental probe.

The latest in the series of deaths came on July 14, from Vyalikaval police station. H. Rangappa, an accused in a cheating case, the police claimed, hanged himself to death from the ceiling of the toilet in the police station. The ACP, Kengeri Gate division, is investigating the incident.

The Vyalikaval incident comes close on the heels of two more alleged deaths in police custody. Raghu, an accused in a murder case, died in the custody of Kengeri Gate police early this year. A COD inquiry has been ordered into the incident as the then city police commissioner, Mr S.N.S. Murthy, expressed his inability to investigate.

In yet another incident, Shekar alias "Station" Shekar, an alleged rowdy, was shot dead by a sub-inspector at the former's house in Banasawadi, early this month. The fifth metropolitan magistrate has ordered the CBI to conduct an inquiry into the incident.

But surprisingly, these incidents have not drawn the public attention as is the Rasheed murder case. But then, the Rasheed case involves a then minister, Mr R.L. Jalappa, a DCP, Mr K. Narayan, and several policemen. Since Mr Rasheed was an advocate his fraternity had come out against the state government and forced it to concede their demand — ordering a CBI inquiry. Soon the events happened in quick succession, the DCP and other policemen had been arrested and Mr Jalappa secured an anticipatory bail.

The Rasheed murder case sent shock-waves in the entire police force of the state. Police officers confided that detection of crime in the city came down last year as a direct result of the Rasheed incident.

Interestingly, there was only one alleged lock-up death in the city last year as against three already reported this year.

Many feel that death in police custody is the sign of growing ruthlessness and unchecked power of the police. Torture, they say, is increasingly being used with sadistic malevolence, to extract information, to either settle scores or to teach "a lesson" to the person concerned.

But police officers feel that there are different reasons for deaths in custody. According to them, some of the arrested persons normally have suicidal tendencies while others commit suicide unable to withstand mental agony and damage to their reputation. But they do admit that many a time it is the over-enthusiasm to extract information which results in the death of detenus.

Several officers object to branding the police responsible for these deaths. They feel that on several occasions it is not the police who are responsible for the deaths as detenus commit suicide without the knowledge of the police.

Some officers confide that they are forced to resort to third degree methods on a hardened criminal as any other methods will not help them extract information. Pressures from various quarters, including from their top brass and the general public, act upon them to take the case seriously and deal with the accused. "Without applying third degree methods, we cannot just detect cases," said one officer adding that resorting to such methods has become the "occupational hazard."

But getting involved in such incidents — apart from being factually indulging in violence — has acted upon the police tellingly. "The number of officers known to handle crime cases efficiently is slowly decreasing and they are prefering non-executive jobs fearing their involvement in custodial deaths. A police officer faces many obstacles in performing his duties properly and they take off one's interest in the job itself. It is no surprise if one loses faith in oneself, for we have reached a stage when no one believes what we say."

However, the city police commissioner, Mr R. Ramalingam, does not agree that the third degree methods are in existence. "In fact, we are exorting our officers to increasingly use scientific methods of investigation," he says.

But this apart, it is a fact that only a few cases are registered against the police and almost no convictions are reported, despite torture being a criminal act punishable under Sections 330 and 331 of the Indian Penal Code with a maximum of seven years' imprisonment.

According to figures available with the police, a total of 34 deaths in custody have been reported between 1980 and 1988 in the state, Bangalore rural and Bijapur districts' police stations have a large share in this with six deaths each.

But Karnataka stands nowhere, say top police officers, if a comparison is made between the figures of other states with that of Karnataka. They point out that there were as many as 104 lock-up deaths in Andhra Pradesh in four years ending 1988.

Section 41 of the Criminal Procedure Code and recent laws like National Security Act and Terrorists and Disruptive Activities Act, have armed police aggression with further power. However, Karnataka lost an opportunity to get the credit of becoming the first state to amend Section 41 of the Cr.P.C. a few years ago. After protest from the police force, the state government put in cold storage a private members' Bill to amend the Cr.P.C. by providing more safeguards to protect the rights of an arrested person.

The then Janata MLC and professor of law in the Indian Institute of Management, Prof B.K. Chandrashekar, moved the Bill in 1986 according to which an arrested person be served with the reasons for his detention. It also sought to give an opportunity to a person to hand-over the order of his arrest to any person of his choice in his locality

The then Janata government created some sort of history by treating, on November 11, 1986, the proposal as an official Bill, as normally a private member's Bill is either withdrawn or voted out.

According to Prof Chandrashekar, even the opposition parties wanted to back the Bill but the government decided to keep it in cold storage following protests from the police. The Bill died a natural death following dissolution of the assembly.

However, custodial deaths continue, despite adverse publicity to it. Perhaps it is time — especially since Karnataka registered an all-time high figures for lock-up deaths last year — that steps were taken to prevent the recurrence of such crimes. As a police officer rightly said: "We are ready to face any kind of pressure or disturbance but not deaths in custody. It not only puts a black mark on the police officer concerned, but casts a shadow on the image of the entire police force."

— B.S. ARUN

Landlords abet dacoity

By V. V. P. SHARMA
The Times of India News Service
BETTIAH (West Champaran),
July 16.

REPEATED efforts by the Bihar government to check crime in Champaran have failed. All because the landed aristocracy of the area represented by a group of 100 families wished it to be so.

In local parlance, five of these families, owning large estates, are called "vice-chancellors" of the "university of criminals", an epithet given to this district by a Britisher, with the remaining constituting the "faculty".

The conditions prevalent in the district are congenial for rise in crime. The families, like the Ram Nagar, Bilaspur, Bargaon, Dumaria and Shikarpur estates, own thousands of acres of surplus land. This is tilled by poor farmers aided by landless agricultural labourers, the two sections constituting 90 per cent of the population.

The criminals, products of feudal oppression ranging from dispossession from their land to rape of their women, belong to backward classes and tribal communities. On the other hand, over 60 per cent of the government machinery is controlled by three forward castes. Not to be taken lightly is the fact the a sizeable section of Bihar's bureaucracy and politicians are either drawn from these families or are related to them by marriage.

Over 50 notorious gang leaders, including Mema Ahir, Druv Mallah, Nagendra Noniya, and another 3,000 gang members or small-time criminals have emerged in this decade.

Official statistics show that 700 murders, 800 dacoities and 250 kidnappings were committed in the Champaran range this decade, the number of unreported or hushed up cases being another 50 per cent. Two years after launching the much-publicised "operation black panther", the government resigned itself to the fact that "crime could be checked only by the continuous presence of para-military forces", which it hoped would "force the criminals to seek shelter elsewhere".

In spite of their caste loyalties, these dacoities act as mercenaries for anyone willing to pay. They are used by powerful contractors, smugglers, landlords and politicians who are affluent but not aristocratic enough to command respect from the dacoits. The murder of the Congress MLA, Mr Trilok Harijan, and the kidnapping of Mr Kisanlal Arora, owner of a restaurant here, are recent instances. It is said Basudeo kidnapped Mr Arora at the instance of some contractors of Valmikinagar and extracted a ransom of Rs 2 lakhs before releasing him.

The credit for introducing the concept of "kidnapping for ransom" goes to a senior police official who was posted in the district in the early '80s. He asked the criminals to stop "unnecessary" murders and dacoities and instead advised them to kidnap "some rich people and release them after extracting ransom". It was also he who allegedly urged the criminals to "organise themselves into gangs".

The dacoits have to depend on the landed aristocracy for their existence. It is a known fact if a landlord is displeased with a dacoit leader, he raises another protege and gets the former killed by the new leader. Otherwise, the landlord simply tips off the police about the dacoits' hideout, and an "encounter" takes place.

In return for the safety of their lives, the dacoits "aid" the landlords in managing their estates and "oversee" smuggling of precious wood along the Indo-Nepal border. But there has been a new development in recent years. Many of the ghats of the Gandak river in Champaran have been purchased by dacoits with financial assistance from the landlords. They also pay for the maintenance of the ghats, repairs of boats and salaries of oarsmen, all of whom are said to be criminals.

The criminal-police nexus is another indication of the landlords dominance in Champaran. Official sources admitted that more than half of the police force belong to forward castes. A classic example is the alleged threats meted out to the late Mr Harijan by an office in charge of a particular police station when the former had raised the issue of the murder of a Tharu tribal, Kashi Mahto, by a wood smugglers' gang last year.

July 16, 87 [illegible]

Moga killer shot dead in Faridkot

CHANDIGARH, July 15 (PTI): Top terrorist, Dyal Singh alias Dyala, involved in the June 25 Moga killings, and his two accomplices were shot dead in a fierce encounter in Faridkot district in Punjab today, reports said here.

Elsewhere in the state two hardcore terrorists and a constable were shot dead and 10 extremists with arms and ammunition arrested and 14 persons injured in past 24 hours, the reports said.

Dyala, a self-styled 'Lt-General' of the 'Khalistan Liberation Force' and carrying a reward of Rs. 50,000 on his head, and two of his accomplices were shot and killed during an encounter with a joint naka party of the Punjab police and CRPF in village Nahan Khurd Khote, under Moga Saddar police station in Faridkot district.

The Joint naka party engaged the three terrorists in an encounter after they on being challenged, opened fire

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Twenty-six injured

BHUBANESWAR, July 28. — Yuva Janata activists, demanding immediate inquiry into the "illegally acquired assets" of the Orissa Chief Minister, Mr J. B. Patnaik, the PCC(I) chief, Mr K. C. Lenka, and other Congress(I) Ministers, turned violent in front of the Income-Tax Commissioner's office here today. They clashed with the police; 26 people including three police officers and one MLA, were injured.

The scuffle occurred when the demonstrators tried to gatecrash into the Commissioner's office, ignoring appeals from some of the senior leaders present, including the Yuva Janata president, Mr Nalinikanta Mohanty, and Mr Srikanta Jena, MLA. Later, a delegation led by Mr Mohanty met the Commissioner and submitted a memorandum to him, which brought specific charges against the Chief Minister and others. Mr Mohanty said the Commissioner had assured them he would look into the allegations and take necessary action. — Correspondent.

RAMPAGE BY JAWANS: The Government has ordered an inquiry into an incident involving a large number of Army jawans based in Bikaner, armed with iron rod and lathis, who went on a rampage at the Lalgarh Railway Station and brutally beat up the railway staff and passengers on July 5, the minister said in reply to a question.

Two shot dead

PATNA, (UNI): Suspected Naxalites shot dead two persons and injured several others at Karkoma village under Meral block of Naxalites dominated palamau district yesterday, official sources here said today. Land dispute was stated to be the cause of the incident.

2 killed in clashes

HYDERABAD, (PTI): Two persons were killed and at least 14 injured when two rival political groups clashed at Nadikudi village in Guntur district, yesterday. The rival groups numbering about 400 hurled several bombs at each other, according to police sources here.

Quilon firing

QUILON, July 28. — One person was killed and over 100 others, including 70 policemen, were injured when police fired on agitating fishing boat workers who turned violent at Sakthikulangara, on the outskirts of the town, this evening, reports PTI. The car in which the Minister for Forests, Mr N. M. Joseph, was travelling was gheraoed by the agitators. The workers had been agitating for the past few days demanding lifting of the Government's ban on trawling by mechanized fishing boats along the coast during the monsoon season as a measure for conserving fisheries resources.

Novel police way to fight Naxalites

By G. S. VASU
Express News Service

HYDEARBAD, July 31

The disappearance of Ilaiah and Rajamallu – activists of the Peoples War Group, which led to the killing of a Mandal Praja Parishad president and the abduction of two other MPP chiefs before the Government instituted a judicl inquiry is not an isolated instance. There are, infact, many such cases which have not come to light at all.

Though Andhra Pradesh has earned notoriety for "encounter" killings for more than decade and half, contriving the 'disappearance' of leading members of this extremist group has lately been one of the methods of the police of "root out" Naxalism.

There have been at least 20 cases of PWD activists being picked up by the police in the last three years. All of them either disappeared or turned up as unidentified dead bodies. The modus operandi of the police has been to whisk them away on some fictitious charge and then there would be no trace of them. In order to make the identification impossible, the dead bodies were defaced with the help of acid.

The " missing" phenomenon has reached such proportions that the AP Civil Liberties Committee (APCLC) wrote to the Amnesty International to send its team to probe the "mystery killings" by the state police durihg the last two years.

Dr K. Balagopal, general secretary of the Civil Liberties Committee even approached the AP High Court for a writ of habeaus corpus directing the police to produce the missing persons before the court. The court asked the Government to submit a report on the missing persons.

Ten victims referred to in the petition belonged to the Naxalite dominated district of Karimnagar and Adilabad while a few other cases were reported from Warangal and Hyderabad districts.

One of the latest police tactics related to Ch. Ramaswamy (32) of Mandamarri in Adilabad district. Employed in the Singareni Collieries, he was stated to have been whisked away by the Special Task Force on May 15, this year. His wife and small children made futile rounds to the police station. So far, the cops have not disclosed his whereabouts.

Civil rights activists allege that there are not accidental happenings, but part of a deliberate police of the Government to dispose of inconvenient people in connivance with the police. They collate the missing of these persons to the statements put out by the police that "unidentified Naxalites;; were killed in the encounters.

It is pointed out that this is not a casual phenomenon but a well designed strategy consciously pursued by the police in the face of rising protests. A major convenience with such killings is that there is no evidence – no body, no inquest and no magisterial inquiry. Thus, there is a little possibility of the state-perpetrated crime being proved.

The plight of 50-year-old Somanarsamma of Warangal was miserable after the disappearance of her son Velpula Venkateswarlu alias Prakash, "abducted" by the police in April last year.

Accused in nine criminal cases, Prakash gave up political activities and surrendered to the police. He was jailed in June 1986 and released on bail on March 31 last year but was soon rearrested and remanded to judicial custody on a fresh charge.

"He was again arrested and released on bail the following month. He was picked up at the jail gates and has been missing ever since", the ageing mother said.

The next morning she met her son in Shyampet police station and was even told that bail papers were being signed for his release. But the promised release did not materialise. On May 25 when the parents met the police officers, they flatly denied the arrest and the proposed release: What is more, they totally feigned ignorance about his whereabouts.

Sheikh Imam of Warangal was allegedly arrested and tortured to death. The dead body was thrown under an express train on April 22, 1986. The next day, the police discovered the body, conducted the inquest and announced that an extremist carrying explosives and arms had slipped and fell under a train he was trying to board in a hurry.

Take the case of Punnam Chander of Warangal and Ramana Reddy of Karimnagar. Both of them were lodged in a jail in Orissa after their arrest. The AP police took permission from the magistrate to bring the two to the state in connection with a case and they were conveniently "disappeared" enroute.

The police have apparently employed this method even against ordinary criminals if the frequent allegations by their kith and kin against the police are to be believed.

One such instance is that of 20-year-old Raju, an alleged thief, whose body was found very near the Saifabad police station in the city a few days after he reportedly escaped from the custody of the police on July 2.

While Raju's mother alleges that her son had been kept in the Gandhi Nagar police station more than a month and tortured, the police version is that Raju escaped from their custody while he was being interrogated. They said they knew nothing about him until his body was traced.

The other cases referred to by the civil right activists include that of A. Srinivas, Bejjanki Ravinder, Challa Bapu Reddy, G. Rajaiah, B. Janardhan Reddy, M. Rajaiah of Karimnagar, Benjamin and Sukhjeevan Reddy of Hyderabad, Dr Prasad of Rajahmundry, Kimar Alis Venkateswar Rao of amalapuram, Gellanki Chenchhu Reddy and Venkateswarlu of Nellore. Most of them are actvists or sympathisers of various Naxalite groups.

Civil rights activists demand that the Government should institute a judicial inquiry into all these cases as it did in the case of Ilaiah and Rajamallu.

INDIA's HERBLOCK,DARCY,OLIPHANT

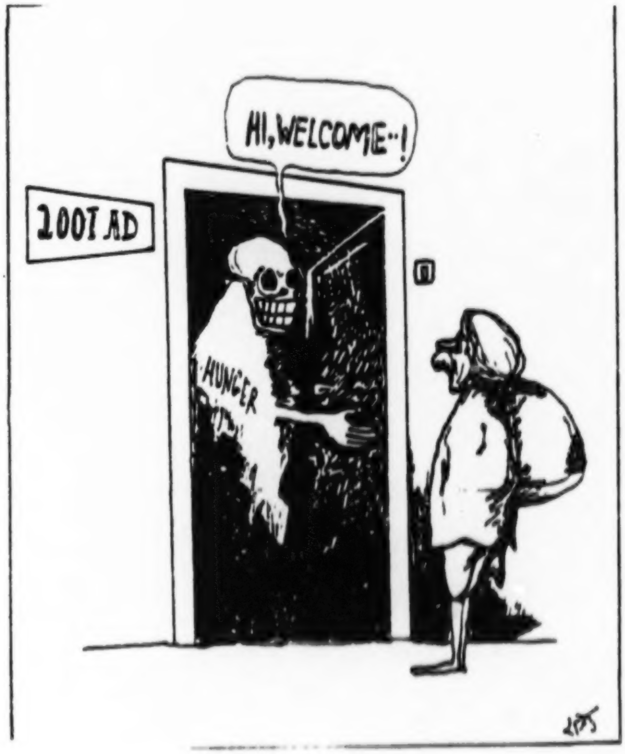
If a picture is worth a thousand words than a cartoon is as pointed/poignant as a well-written editorial. Herblock, Oliphant, Darcy, and Lord are as famous, if not more so, than the syndicated editorial writers.

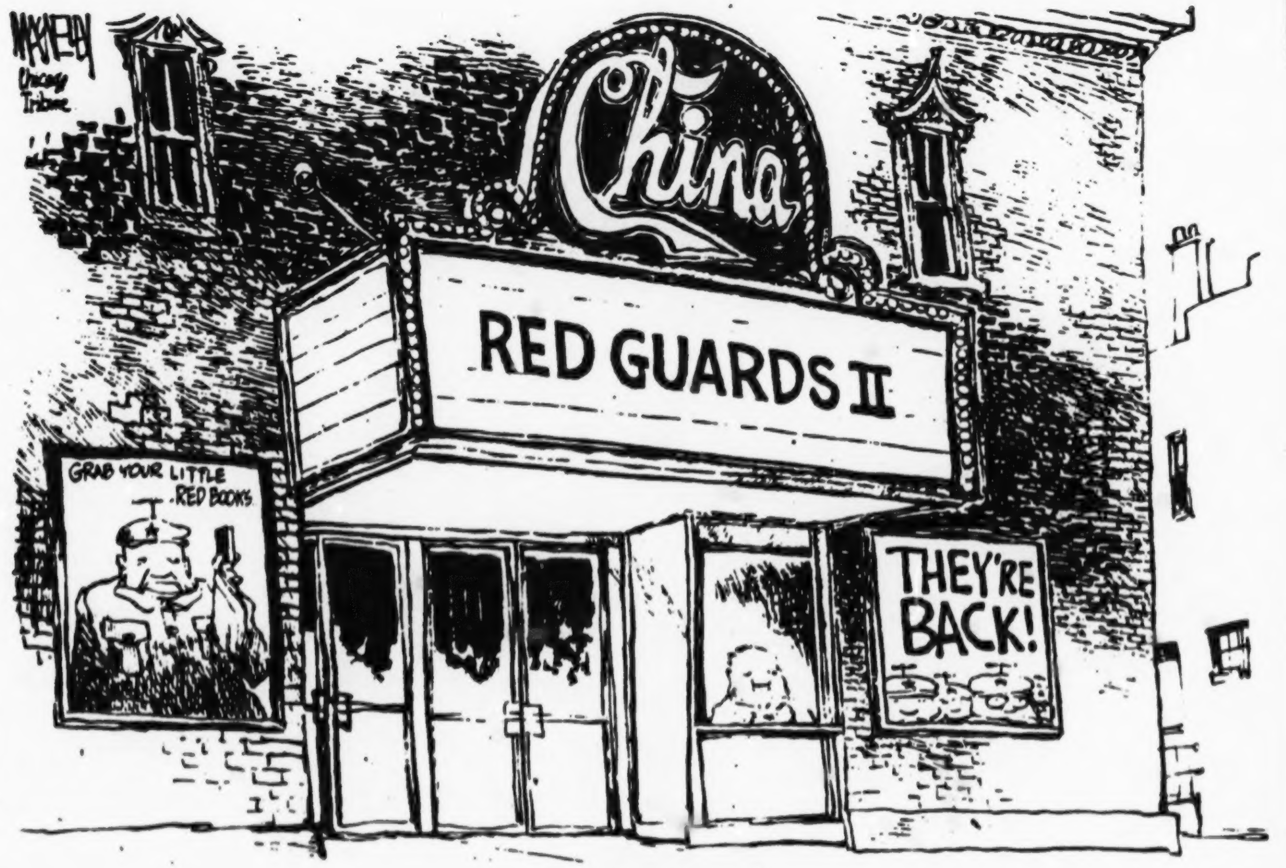
India's political artists paint with the same pointed brush as their American counterparts. And, in studying their cartoonists, one sees the unveiling of a major domestic/international story be it here or on the subcontinent.

1) Have the students bring in a series of cartoons from the local paper reflecting a local, national, and international issue. Using the overhead projector, have the students explain the meaning of the cartoonist effort.

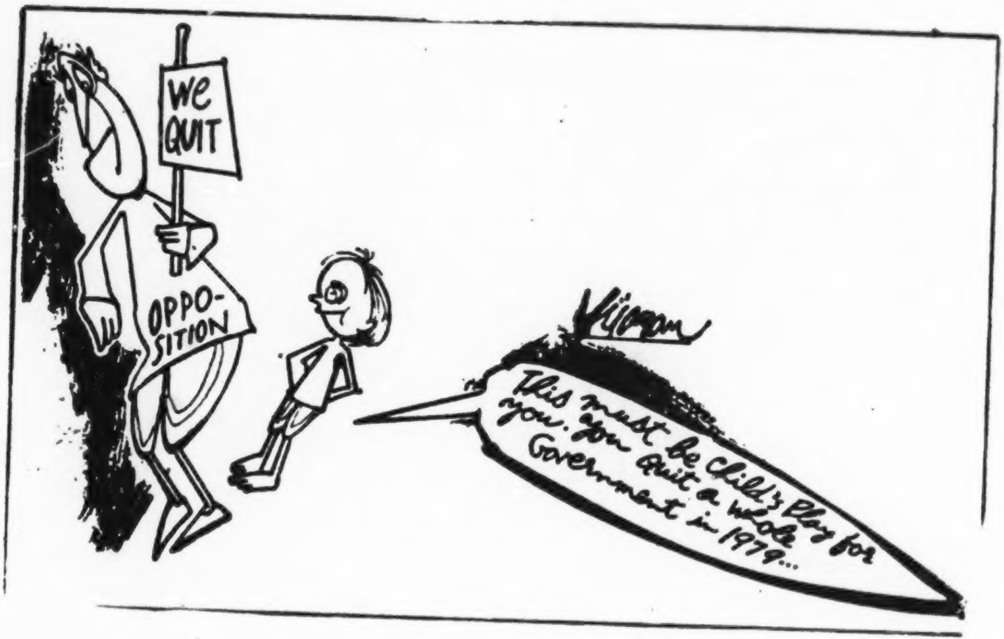
2) To teach a lesson on the Indian political scene, utilize a series of cartoons that are found here.

3) Have the students create their own cartoons reflecting the problems you would be covering at the moment.

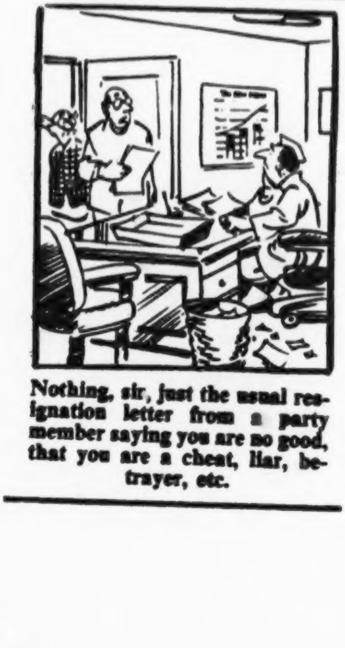

HI, WELCOME..!
2001 AD
HUNGER


MACNELLY
Chicago Tribune
China
RED GUARDS II
GRAB YOUR LITTLE RED BOOKS
THEY'RE BACK!

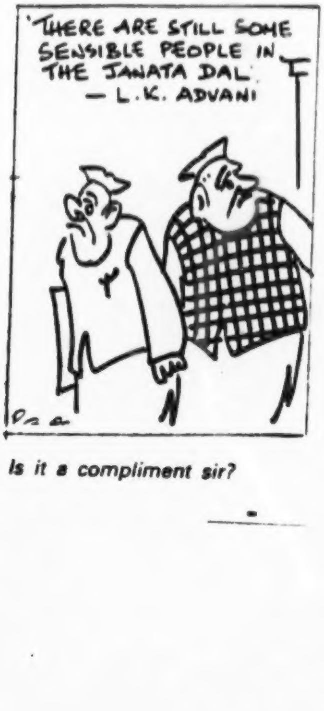
Summer Sequel


We QUIT
OPPOSITION
This must be child's play for you. You quit a whole Government in 1979...

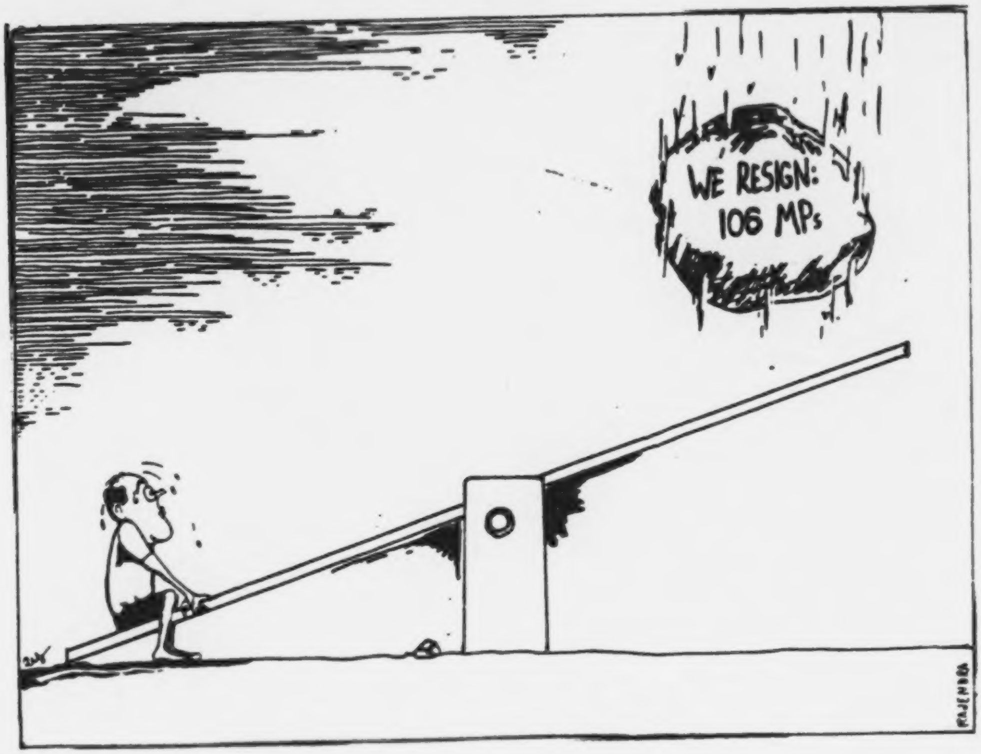
You said it
by Laxman

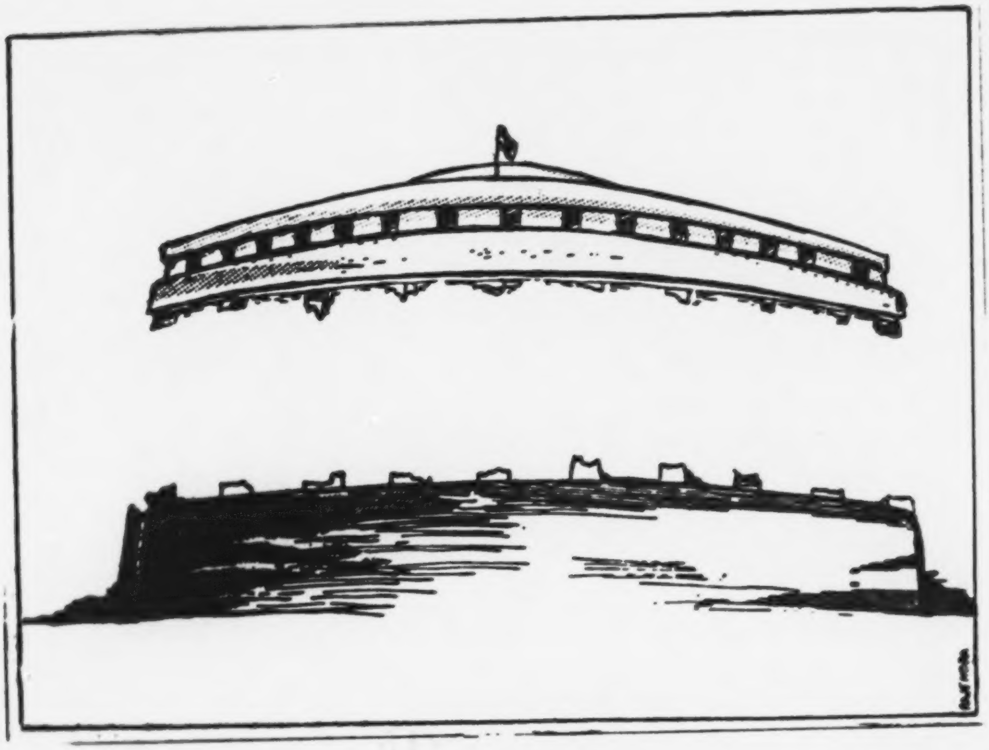


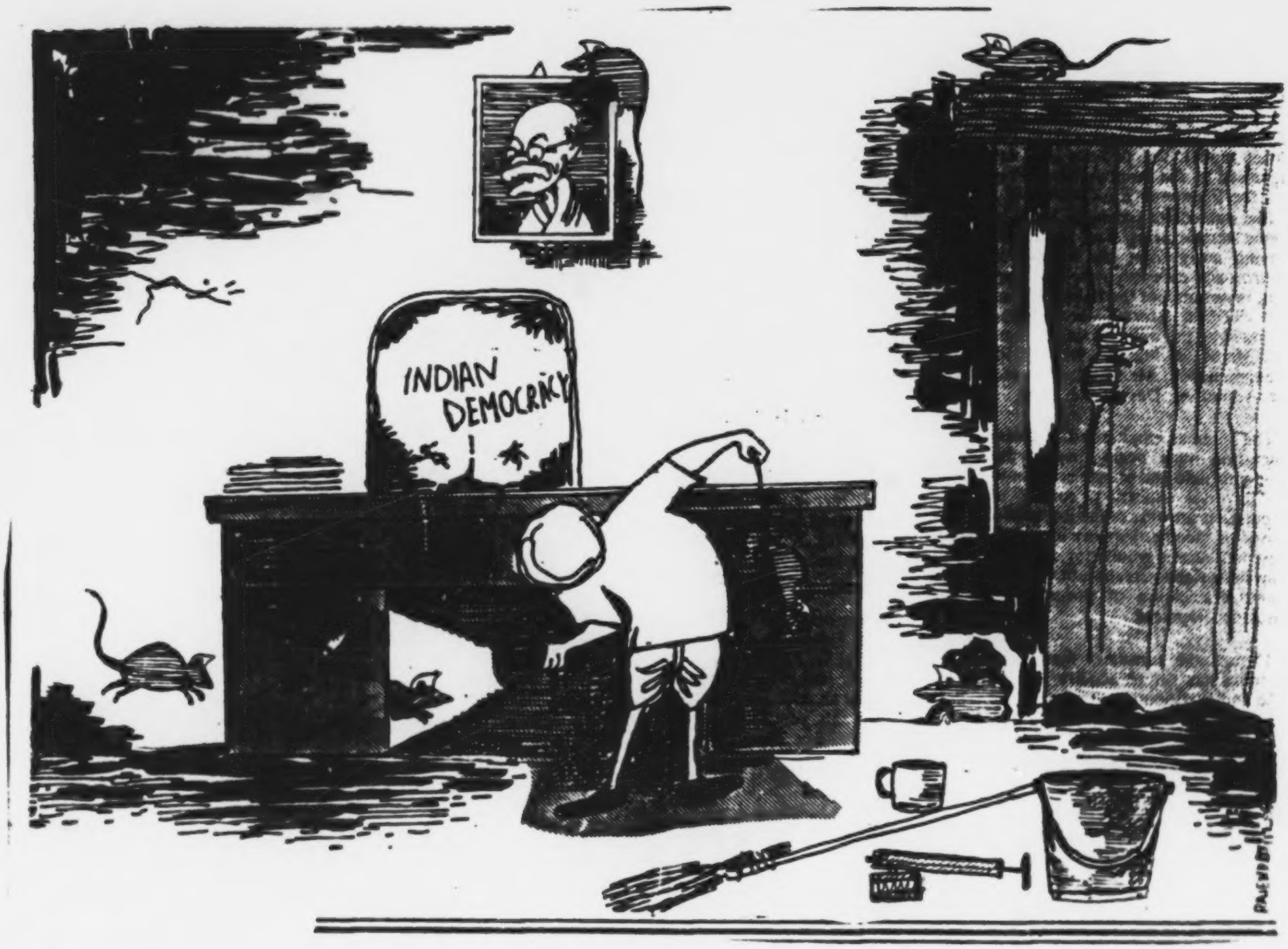
Nothing, sir, just the usual resignation letter from a party member saying you are no good, that you are a cheat, liar, betrayer, etc.


'THERE ARE STILL SOME SENSIBLE PEOPLE IN THE JANATA DAL' — L.K. ADVANI

Is it a compliment sir?

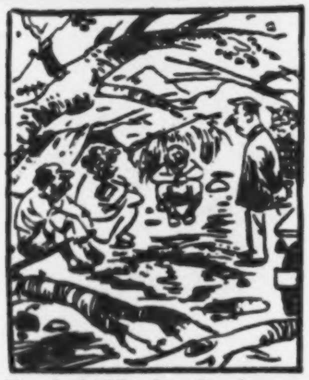

WE RESIGN:
106 MPs





You said it

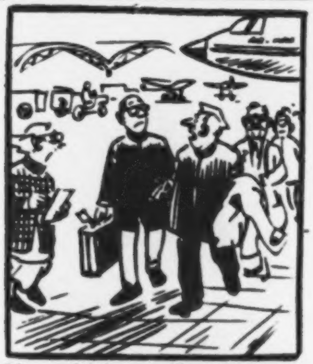
By LAXMAN



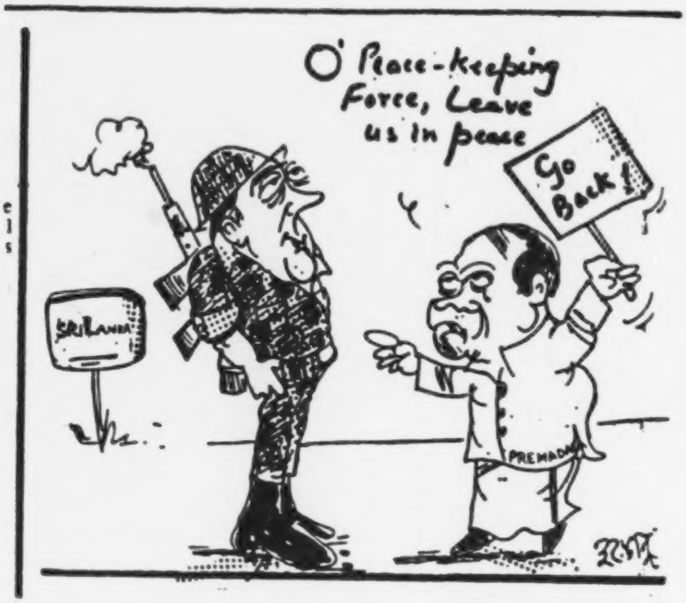
No, sir, luckily there has been no damage in your constituency during the rain havoc. It's been just like this ever since we can remember!

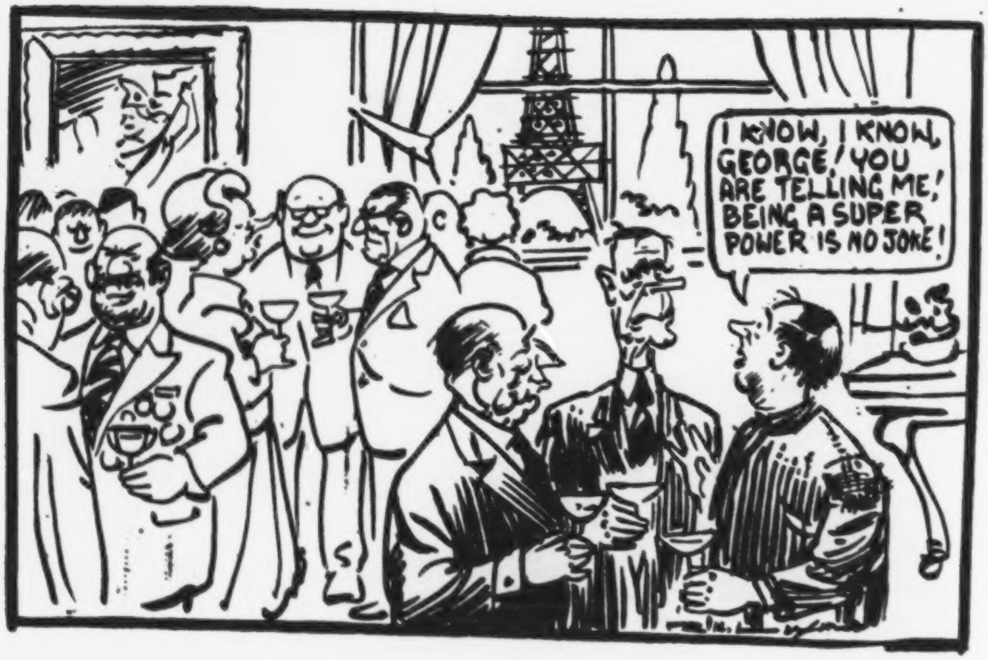
You said it

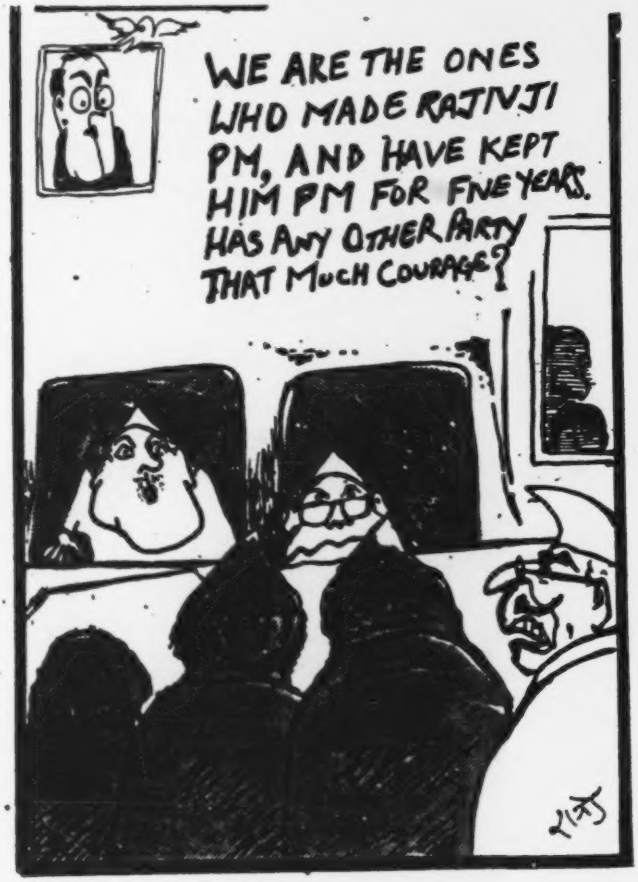
by Laxman



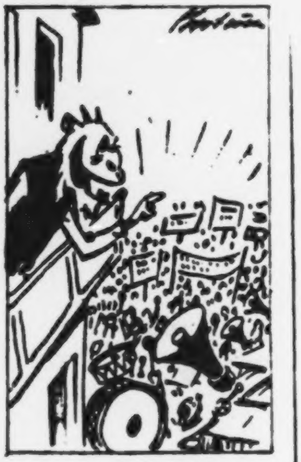
Now criticisms, allegations and attacks will start all over again! Why don't our people be like those abroad, understanding and friendly?


O' Peace-keeping Force, Leave us in peace
Go Back!
SRI LANKA
PREMADA

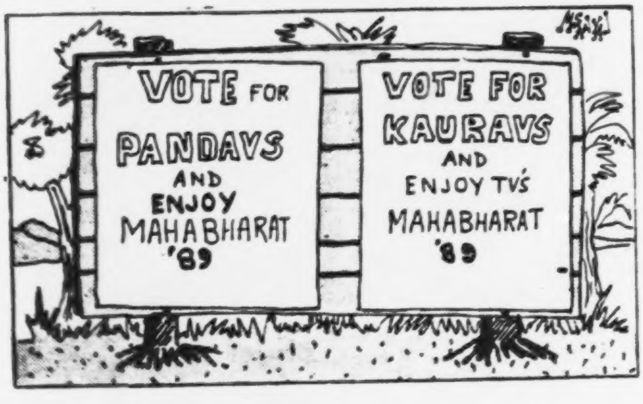

I KNOW, I KNOW, GEORGE! YOU ARE TELLING ME! BEING A SUPER POWER IS NO JOKE!


WE ARE THE ONES WHO MADE RAJIVJI PM, AND HAVE KEPT HIM PM FOR FIVE YEARS. HAS ANY OTHER PARTY THAT MUCH COURAGE?

AJAJI



"You are Tweedledum and Tweedledee but I will vote for the one who makes the least noise before my house".


VOTE FOR PANDAVS AND ENJOY MAHABHARAT '89
VOTE FOR KAURAVS AND ENJOY TV's MAHABHARAT '89

MISCELLANEOUS

Okay, I had 200 plus articles and I devised a dozen categories. Out on the dining room table, I placed/spread the dozen 3 by 5 cards with the categories/titles written on them. So now I shuffled the articles out. Where does this article go, how about this one? I was left with about ten articles that defied my divisions - enjoy!!

How does one survive in Delhi?

Influence peddling only way out

INFLUENCE peddling is the second biggest industry in Delhi after the government. Many people have been known to have made a fortune by using their right contacts in the government while many others thrive just by being experts in name-dropping. There is no law which prevents influence peddlers from approaching a clerk, an officer or a minister for a favour. Watching them in action gives an impression that the government's policies are always on sale - any decision can be taken or changed depending on how well-connected the influence peddler is. Influence peddlers have no qualms about the morality of securing an advantage which an ordinary citizen cannot.

Those deep in this trade even defend it as a redistributive democracy. Ask them if they were not a party to corruption in the government and they will shoot back that more corruption will be the result if none stopped the patently outrageous behaviour of the bureaucracy. It is rarely that one gets to know who influenced a particular government decision and hence the influence peddlers operate confidently without the risk of being exposed. The Bofors scandal may be an exception where names of some agents became public but still nobody knows definitely who influenced the decision.

Phone calls are made, meetings are arranged and those who engage influence peddlers know that the decision in their favour won't be far away. It is an organised industry from inside as well as from outside the government to keep on initiating programmes to enrich a particular interest group. Influence peddlers thrive only from the fact that the government business is not done in the open and nobody in the government is bothered as funds are not taken from any individual's pocket.

After retirement

Then there are members of Parliament who line their pockets while influencing a government programme for private interest. Many collect their campaign funds for election in this manner. These MPs approach the concerned officials and influence them to take a decision in a particular way. Some even go to the extent of blatantly asking awkward questions in Parliament if their work is not done. There are government officials who take decisions based on personal relationship rather than on merit. They have the knack of establishing an instant relationship with the private parties approaching for a favour.

If you are in Delhi and if you have neither influence nor a contact with anyone wielding influence life will be miserable. Nothing moves in Delhi without influence. If you need admission for a child in a good school, you will fail without influence. Even for getting a cooking gas connection or a telephone connection or just a train reservation at the last moment in an emergency, influence is required. You can get the gas connection out of turn while thousands wait in queue for years or you can get even a train reservation from the VIP quota if an MP obliges you. Of course, MPs don't make money in such favours but then they don't help unless they know that the beneficiary can be useful in future in some way.

Can it be stopped?

The bureaucracy, which has worked in tandem with influence peddlers, will never accept such an open democracy as it would expose the arbitrariness which abounds in government decisions. The other way is to reduce the size of the government. An ordinary citizen can then locate the person concerned for a particular decision. More powers to panchayats and reduction in the size of municipal bodies by providing a two or three-tier structure are decisions in this direction. Even so influence peddlers will be there to divert funds from the source, i.e., Delhi.

The monsoon session of Parliament beginning on Tuesday will, in all probability, be the last sitting of the present Lok Sabha. The opposition will unfold its strategy for the session on Monday. Indications are that all parties will combine to prepare a joint charge-sheet against the government to bring no-confidence motion and then go to the people with it to squeeze as much advantage as they can.

On the face of it, the Congress(I) will try to restrict itself to legislative business for which Parliament is meant. Two constitutional amendment bills, one on panchayats and another on nagarpalikas, will get top priority. Among half a dozen other bills to come up during the session is also bill for imposition of consignment tax. The draft of the bill was approved by a committee of chief ministers last Saturday. The Prime Minister has also indicated that he would announce an employment scheme for the urban jobless during the session on the lines of the Jawahar Rozgar Yojana launched during the budget session.

Opposition parties had been harping on non-implementation of the Mandal Commission's report on backward classes. There should be no surprise if the government accepts the report and thus stop the opposition's propaganda. Only recently the concerned ministries have been asked to quickly process the report and keep it ready for use any time.

Election is months away but the election atmosphere is already being felt in the capital. Most of the ruling party's plans and welfare measures raise the moot question whether it is ethical to shower pre-election gifts on the people. The opposition will at least protest against the schemes announced by the government, but as the AICC(I) General Secretary, Mr. V.N. Gadgil, claimed, it is a 'win-win' situation for the ruling party. If the opposition keeps mum, the Congress(I) will have the advantage of influencing voters with such schemes in election. And, if the opposition protests, the Congress(I) will take advantage to go to to the voters and tell them how the opposition was blocking welfare measures meant for the people. Mr Rajiv Gandhi has already started such a campaign by repeatedly blaming the opposition for its attempts to block what he describes as the government's resolve to give powers to the people through the Panchayt Bill.

DELHI KALEIDOSCOPE

JAL KHAMBATA

• • •

The government's industrial policy is in a state of flux, changing so fast that new decisions overtake the previous ones much before they are fully implemented. Only last year the government had decided to locate 10 growth centres in backward areas at a cost of Rs. 3,000 crore in the next five years to provide infrastructure for new industries instead of giving fat Central subsidies to industries to develop own infrastructure. These growth centres are yet to be established.

The Centre is to provide Rs. 10 crore for each such centre with the remaining Rs. 20 crore coming from the state government, financial institutions and market borrowings.

Even when the Centre was holding discussions with states last month to finalise the location of the first such 61 growth centres the Planning Commission came out with the new location policyto be implemented during the Eighth Plan beginning next year. The commission has accepted the reality that the policy of backward area development pursued for over two decades had not been very successful. In many cases, project costs multiplied sharply due to many ovrheads in building the infrastructure.

While the policy under implementation envisages location of the growth centres close to district or tehsil headquarters, the Planning Commission has suggested that district towns should themselves be considered as growth centres. In its approach paper pending with the Prime Minister for approving the Eighth Plan, the commission has pointed out that location of industries is linked to urbanisation and despite all efforts the trend of urban migration had not abated. It has suggested that dispersed growth of industries around district towns could at least curtail migration to the metropolis while making better use of the existing facilities in these areas instead of spending huge sums to create the same facilities elsewhere. Marketing arrangements can also be set up without much difficulty around these towns. Acceptance of this recommendation would make totally meaningless the ongoing exercise in the Industries Ministry to quickly locate growth centres in backward areas.

Many changes have been made in the last three or four years to encourage the corporate sector's social responsibility in tune with our founding fathers' dream that economic growth through rapid industrialisation would facilitate the ultimate objective of social development. The government wants the industry to take up the strategic role of facilitating and promoting social development in terms of better employment opportunities, removal of regional imbalance and promotion of industrial democracy. All these add up to sustain and promote the quality of life of the community.

By the very definition of social accountability, it should be outside the framework of law - it should be voluntary and not statutory. Such an accountability was, however, missing in the past and hence a spate of legislations and legislative norms were imposed. Relaxation of these norms began after Mr Rajiv Gandhi took over as Prime Minister with the fervent hope that the industry will reciprocate with social responsibility. The rapid economic growth as result of this reversal of the policy of increasing controls is there for everyone to see but very little has been done in terms of social accountability except for trumpeting of the corporate philanthropy which adds up to nothing in contrast to the varied problems the country faces today.

The biggest concession the industry secured last year is delicensing up to Rs. 50 crore under which all non-monopoly houses and non FERA companies are exempt from the licensing provisions if the factory is to be located in a backward area. The exemption limit is Rs. 15 crore in the non-backward areas. The 'negative list' of industries requiring compulsory licensing regardless of investment has been drastically reduced from 77 items to 26 items. Industrial units are also automatically entitled to higher capacity in their licence on the basis of maximum production actually achieved in 1988-89 or 1989-90. Definition of the ancillary industry has also been changed from a minimum limit of 50 per cent to 30 per cent of its production or services to one industry. Even the MRTP companies whose assets are less than Rs. 100 crore are now treated as non-MRTP companies in respect of products other than those in which they are classified as dominant.

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Interior Design for a MIG House

A comfortable house leads to a happy home. And in order to have a comfortable house you need a large floor area, which is not available today. Within the given area you have to make best use by efficiently using the space in terms of layout, design, detail and colours so that the basic needs of the family are met.

The most economical and widely lived in houses today eg in the city of Delhi are constructed by the DDA. They make different categories for various income brakcets. Let us take as an example a category II Type A-2 built on an area of 86.59 sq.meters.

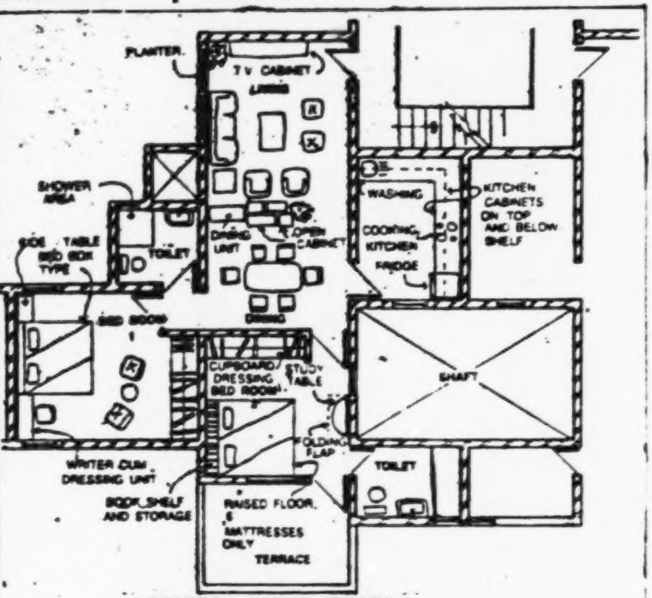
As you see in the layout plan most of the functions have been met.

As you enter, you come into the living room where a few sofa seats along with a centre and side tables have been provided. In the wall adjacent to the entrance door, a long cabinet, about 7' in height, has been shown. This cabinet should be about 18' deep and can hold a TV, VCR, a Music system books and of course some curios and display items. This room is primarily to be used as a lobby area or a lounge as also to entertain guests.

Between the living room and dining room as shown in the illustration another cabinet has been provided. This is a multi functional cabinet one side of which can be used as a storage for crockery, cutlery and a place to keep your toaster and the other side could be used as a display. This cabinet has a split height i.e. it is 6' high near the wall and the other end would be just 4' high. This break in height will make the two areas look connected and not boxed up as also will serve as a visual block between the two areas. The dining room also has a table for 6, enough for the family to have a sit down meal. In case you still feel the shortage of space you could put up about a 6' wide and 2' to 3' long shelves on the wall on brackets again at difference heights, so as to form some kind of design.

The master Bedroom or Bed 1, if you notice, has all the basics. It has a double bed which is really a box bed ie below the mattress are shutters fixed on hinges which can be lifted and the area below used for storage. The head board again is about 6' wide, the top of which can be used to place a clock, books, a jug of water. Along the bed a bedside table has been placed on one side which has to be so designed as to hold as much as possible.

On the other side of the bed, a writer/dresser has been placed. This is a table 2'6" high and about 4' long with drawers. On the wall above 2'6", a mirror 4' wide and 4' high has been fixed to the wall. This now, becomes a multi purpose table which can be used as a writing table as also a dressing table when required. In the bedroom a nithe has been provided by the builder which is to be used as a wardrobe. This wardrobe could have sliding shutters to save on the space in the bedroom. This wardrobe is to be so designed so as to meet the individual needs. The wardrobe should consist of a few drawers, a hanging space and shelves to keep clothers. A long mirror can be fixed to one of the wardrobe shutters.



2 BEDROOM UNIT (CATEGORY-II)
SECOND FLOOR PLAN TYPE A-2
INTERIOR LAYOUT

A kitchen is the hub of the house. Kitchen design has changed a great deal since the introduction of many reliable and well designed mechanical items which takes the slavery out of working eg. a large refrigerator not only keeps a variety of foods at different temperatures, but is a long term store so you don't need to go marketing constantly.

Kitchen get a great deal of hard use, so choose materials, both for work tops and floors, which will mellow well and be impregnable. In India one of the best kitchen top is marble as it is long lasting and easy to maintain. It is also an additional cutting and chopping surface.

Fix a small shelf for spices and herb bottles by the cooking area with a rail below to hang cooking implements. A built in knife rack helps to make the cook's life easier and also keeps the blades butcher sharp.

It is better to have sliding doors to cabinets or very narrow hinged doors ideally on a linked rod so that two can be opened together for easier access.

Area under sink can be covered with openable shutters, and one of the shutters can have a portable dustbin.

The bath room can have a shower curtain to visually divide it into two areas, the shower area and the wash basin/W.C. area. Hooks behind the door are practical for hanging clothes. A small closed storage space in a corner for soiled clothes keeps the bathroom neat. Area above the washbasin (below the mirror) can have a narrow ledge to keep soap etc. A small wall hung cabinet in this area is handy to keep toiletry, shaving kits, medicine etc. The shower area may have another cabinet to keep shampoo etc. A couple of towel racks are a must.

In the other bedroom again, we have 2 single beds, basically mattresses placed on the floor which is raised by 6". Behind these beds we have storage going up about 3'. It also has a wardrobe for storage and flap on the wall to be used as a writing table when required.

In case you need any details or if you have any questions relating to the above please write your letters to Rajiv Mehta, C/o Indian Express, Advt. Department

On the ghats of Pushkar

By Robert Cullen

PUSHKAR is one of those rare places that one instantly likes. The road sign before entering this desert town reads. "It's Wise To Be Important But It's More Important To Be Wise". A moral learnt perhaps from those wise-looking camels wandering down the main road.

I speak with Ram Dass and his friends from a nearby village. It seems that every year the whole village gets together to fight one another. It's a free-for-all three hours a day every day for four days!

"At the end of each day's 'biffing' the ones still standing get pelted with stones by the others to make them stop!" Ram Dass tells me "When it's all over everyone shakes hands and goes home."

Ram Dass's friends enthusiastically try to convince me of its advantages. "It's the perfect tonic for stress." they insist. "Some of the villagers will carry a grudge for twelve months of the year. perfectly happlily! Knowing. you see. that at the end of it all they can even the score!"

How interesting! I wonder how that would work in a big city. Delhi's Connaught Place perhaps could be converted into a giant fighting arena for a few days while Delhi's citizens enjoy a tremendous free-for-all! The stress reducing possibilities could be endless.

Pushkar is a vegetarian town. While taking a leisurely swim across the sacred Pushkar lake I was picked on by a hungry creature which tried to bite my toe off. Little did he realise but he was up against an expert chicken as I made wild splashes towards the shore. The panic-stricken friends didn't stop until I was shivering safely on the steps of the ghat.

I must say it seems a little unfair. If we can't eat them then they shouldn't eat us. In all truth though I didn't actually see him. I think it was a turtle. but not having taken time to study it in detail. it could have been anything. Which brings to mind the man-eating crocodile which used to reside here not so long ago!

The last flock of ducks made graceful exit as evening closed in around the lake. Lights began to appear by the ghats. their reflections shining clearly in the calm water. The sound of temple bells floated across the lake and was answered by the deep resonating note of a conch. From the opposite shore came the spontaneous sound of a flute breaking away in a tune of its own. Some peacocks joined the chorus.

I looked down at my two-rupee wooden flute which I had bought in the market earlier. I wanted to join in with the symphony. but refrained. It was hardly the right time to take up my first lesson.

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Hindustan Times 7/3/85

The language war

By Shyam Ratna Gupta

BEFORE India's independence, it was generally agreed, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, that Hindi or Hindustani will be the national language. It was also assumed that English, the symbol of slavery, will be dislodged, giving Hindi its rightful place in the country. Hindustani, advocated by Mahatma Gandhi, was a synthesis of Hindi and Urdu, languages largely used for oral communication though works of fiction, written both in Hindi and Urdu, could be included in Hindustani literature. Other Indian languages were to be encouraged, and it was expected that the people of India would be multilingual as, for instance, in Europe, with its diversity of languages.

This vision of a multilingual country with Hindi or Hindustani as the dominant language was shared by Indian leaders from the north, south, west and east almost equally. Although most of them were fluent in English, they made conscious efforts to learn other Indian languages too. Mahatma Gandhi had set an example by trying to learn Hindi, Bengali and other languages.

His mother tongue was Gujarati. Likewise, other Indian leaders, though on a limited scale, tried to acquire a working knowledge of the languages of India, if they toured in the regions where they were spoken. To arouse patriotic sentiments. Indian leaders readily used slogans and catch phrases from other languages as well, if only to acquire popularity.

Against this background of linguistic harmony, the Constitution gave primacy of place to Hindi with other languages being "equals".

It was hoped that Hindi would grow and replace English in 1965, the terminal date for English being used as the official language at the Centre and in the States. But this was also the year when language riots took a heavy toll of life in the southern States, specially in Tamil Nadu, with English and Tamil enthusiasts opposing the imposition of Hindi on them. The year 1965 is thus a watershed in the linguistic history of India, when "shadow boxing" among the languages assumed the form of embittered conflicts. Since that time, disharmony, discord and clash of ideas on the growth of Hindi and Indian languages grew apace.

Meanwhile, almost everywhere, even in the Hindi heartland of northern India (Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Bihar), English seems to have gained ground in the linguistic landscape, with politicians aspiring for a national image taking to the erstwhile language of colonial rulers.

During the last two decades, the language issue seems to have been mixed up with extraneous factors, such as religion, caste and politics. In the name of national integration, Hindi is championed but official attempts to popularise it in natural and social sciences has merely tended to alienate advocates of other Indian languages. Urdu has become a symbol for the assertion of Muslim identity. Similarly, local and small-time politicians use the language of the region as a tool for political aggrandisement. A heated debate continues.

The "battle" for languages, though seemingly bloodless, has divided the Indian polity. In the name of languages, politicians freely appeal to the people and incite them for or against Hindi or any other language of their choice or region.

In this "cold war" English rather than any other Indian language seems to be the gainer at least among the minuscule elite in the country. It is also imperceptibly emerging not merely as a link language but also an Indian language across the country, however feeble, anaemic, ungrammatical and flawed it may be. Hardly a day passes when the media do not debate the language issue, the correspondents or writers favouring the two or three language formula, with English as one of them.

Despite official pronouncements, the newly-established Indira Gandhi Open University has been advertising for applications in "diploma in creative writing in English", the assumption possibly being that this will encourage writing talent across the multilingual landscape of India. Two national dailies also run an occasional feature "Mind your English" or some such column. The authors as well as other writers point out minor grammatical mistakes in these addresses, ignoring the baldness of expression and other flourishes, which reflect an uneasy grasp of English. They also do not seem to realise that as the popularity of English grows, its standards would be diluted. Further, purity of language is no longer a criterion for good English. While English in India is thus being debased, so is the case with other Indian languages, more because of the drive towards literacy.

The new national education policy, announced some time ago, is a non-starter. Similarly, the language policy has not been clearly defined in view of the numerous political and economic considerations which now invisibly distort it.

In a country of nearly 800 million people with nearly 40 per cent below the poverty line, who are also illiterate, it is a stupendous task to impart literacy to them, if only because the minimal manpower and material resources, such as providing them with writing materials, centres or schools and teachers, would involve expenditure of billions of rupees.

There is also the insurmountable problem of the script, which has to be linear for fast printing technology and for spatial economy. In the heat of false national pride and patriotism these questions have not been discussed in depth or in an impartial or objective manner.

Put together, languages are today not merely a divisive force but a negative equation for national renewal and integration. Regressive and, at the same time, lacking in creativity, they are the voices of the dumb and deaf, crude and close to the guttural sounds of the Calibans of India.

Karamadi, a village untouched by the changing times

By ASHRAF SAYED

The Times of India News Service

AHMEDABAD, July 20:

NESTLED among the lush green hills of Aravalli on the Gujarat-Rajasthan border is the little known village of Karamadi. Though situated just 60 km from the district headquarters, Palanpur, and 13 km away from the temple town of Ambaji, the story of this village reads like the report of some 16th century colonial explorer describing his impression of a rustic pastoral village.

In traditional terms, it cannot be described as a village because it has many unique characteristics. Karamadi village is spreadover an area of four sq km. The entire adivasi population of Karamadi is just 314. They live in huts and 'kaccha' houses built on various hillocks and separated from each other by thousands of yards.

Even after 42 years of independence, the village lacks all basic amenities. It does not have a primary school, a village well, a primary health centre or even a nurse to provide emergency medical aid to ailing or pregnant women. The village has remained cut off with the outside world for years, as there is not even a road or mule track to reach it. During the monsoon season, the isolation becomes complete. Ironically, the chief minister, Mr Amarsinh Chaudhary, has adopted this village for its all-round development.

Many of the 300-odd population of the village starve during the rainy season because there is not a single fair-price shop in the vicinity of 10 km of the village. The inhabitants are illiterate and do not communicate with the outside world. They have not heard the name of Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi; not to talk about the much-publicised Jawahar rozgar yojna. They vaguely remember 'Indira Gandhi, rani of Delhi.' Many of them have yet to see a train.

The fruits of development have yet to reach this remote village. Hardly any government servant has bothered to oblige this simple folk by a visit. The planned programmes and literacy drive launched by the government have yet not made their presence felt among the adivasis living in mountains. Out of the total population of 324, only two persons have been listed as literates who can read alphabets and count up to 20. Many villagers recognise currency notes by their colour. A red note means Rs 20 and green note means a fiver.

This correspondent, who drove in a car from Palanpur and then in a jeep, had to walk down through treacherous trenches in the hills to reach some of the huts and 'kaccha' houses to meet the inhabitants. There was no question of introduction of them have not seen a newspaper, not to talk about TV and radio sets. Their face wears a blank look when asked about the government's help to improve their lot.

Eight months ago a dare-devil government servant, Mr Maneklal C. Patel, achieved the distinction of reaching the village for building a primary school. Mr Patel, a taluk development officer of Palanpur, has been successful in partially completing the building but there is no teacher willing to live among these unfortunate children of nature and teach them to read and write.

Unfortunately for Mr Patel, there is not a single carpenter, blacksmith or mason in the village. Every time he brought an artisan with him, they fled the village. Somehow, Mr Patel has been able to complete his task of at least providing a structure for the school. Now he will have to find a teacher and persuade the adivasis to send their children to school. But that is a different story.

Till recently, these adivasis used to barter their forest goods with nearby village merchants, known as Banias. But now they sell the goods and accept cash. Even now, their faith in the Banias is implicit and complete. They are shy of accepting any government assistance. In almost all cases, government subsidies provided on seeds, fertilisers, borewells and purchase of agricultural implements are syphoned off by middlemen and government servants by taking the thumb impression of the locals.

Their plight is the worst during drought years, as witnessed during 1985-87, which were the century's worst years of scarcity in Gujarat. Shunned by government officials because of Karamadi's inaccessibility, the villagers had a harrowing time in the absence of any drought-relief work to provide them with subsistence. Either they had to survive on wild fruits and meat of wild animals or, on their own admission go to the nearby, more prosperous villages for a theft or dacoity, about which they have no qualms they would otherwise starve. During these years, they recounted, many villagers perished either due to starvation, malnutrition or diseases.

Some villagers recounted that they had survived for days together by sharing only one 'roti' among three or four persons. The day this correspondent visited the village, an 11-year-old son of Narso Sava died of a sudden illness. The boy's father carried him on his shoulders to a nearby primary health centre, 15 km away, but it was too late and the boy died on the way.

The sad news had to be conveyed to relatives living far off. The adivasis have their own peculiar way of conveying messages by beating drums. The sound of drums is also different, depending upon occasions — like sounding a danger warning, conveying sad news or celebrating events like marriage. These drums are invariably kept in the house of a village leader. It is his preprogative to beat the drums.

The social customs are alien to modern society. Polygamy is prevalent on a large scale. For instance, Bhura Soma has two wives and five children. None of them believe in family planning. Once an enterprising motivator persuaded Sava Dhana, another villager who had gone to the nearby town to purchase ration, to undergo family planning operation and retained him overnight. Though he had two wives and five children, Dhana ran away from the hospital at night fearing that he may become impotent. For these adivasis, sexual relations with unmarried girls is all rights, but they invariably kill anyone found having extra-marital relations with their wives.

Karamadi village is a part of group gram panchayat of Khapa, Nichlo Bandh and Uplobandh amalgamated, extending over an area of 15 sq km. The villagers of this group panchayat cultivate their land in a primitive style; modern agricultural tools are unknown to them. Once a while, when summoned, they depute their leader to attend panchayat meetings. But a majority of them are still unaware of the functions of panchayats.

Among these backward and neglected people lives a man who has fought many battles for his country. Now he is their sarpanch. He once belonged to Diggal village of Rohtak district in Haryana.

In 1962 and 1965 on China and Pakistan borders, Bhurelal Mangatram Kaushik began his small business in Palanpur, district headquarters of Banaskantha in north Gujarat. Being an ex-army man, he was allotted a plot of 16 acres, which was acquired by the government under the zamindari abolition Act. He settled down in Khapa village, which is a part of Karamadi and other group panchayats in 1970.

Having lived among adivasis for nearly two decades, he was elected the sarpanch of the group panchayat six months ago and now he is fighting yet another battle to improve the lot of the adivasis. He regularly commutes between these hilly villages and Palanpur to persuade government officers to at least provide facilities like drinking water and link road. His efforts have not yielded any result so far, but Bhurelal is not prepared to give up. He is full of enthusiasm and determined to carry on his battle with the district authorities.

Narrating the plight of his people, Mr Kaushik says that the adivasis have to trek on hilly terrain for 15 km for their ration. In case of emergency and delivery cases, the patients have to be carried on shoulders to neighbouring Amirgadh town. His pleas for connecting these villages by constructing the Dhamel-Ambaji road have fallen on deaf ears, as the forest department contends that the road would have to pass through a reserve forest.

"What nonsense," Mr Kaushik overs, and asks, where would these forest officials be when thousands of trees are illegally cut and transported without any fear. "Why not allow only a few trees to be cut to make room for road construction. This road can open new avenues for these adivasis, who have been neglected for centuries, and at least bring them some benefits like drinking water, primary health centre and a school." One will have to hope Mr Kaushik succeeds in his new battle against the bureaucracy.

VILLAGE VIGNETTES

Rasmai brightens up as wedding bells toll

By SHOBHA SINGH

THE young bride-to-be is clad in a thin red nylon sari, while she sits in a suffocating hot inner mud room with dozens of aunts and cousins breathing down her neck. Being a bride in a typical U.P. village like Rasmai is not easy.

A day before her marriage, Abhilasha, who looks barely 15, is said to be above 18. Though good-looking and healthy, she looks listless and dour, the five-day layering of turmeric paste not helping her look any happier. She is the bride-to-be but the other women in the house are taking the chance to pamper themselves. It is for the first time that nail-polish, powder and lipstick have come home after the last marriage, and everyone is smearing them on. A step-sister is making Abhilasha wear dozens of paddy-green glass bangles — a must in Rasmai marriages. Henna has been applied crudely on hands roughened by work in the fields and there is little room to apply nail-varnish as the bride's nails are hopelessly broken. Her hair is being soaked in oil (a luxury) before being tightly plaited. The girl will now be decked in a gorgeous tissue brocade sari, sent by her in-laws. The parents have given no dowry but just a bit of gold, while the boy's side has sent more gold and a delightful pair of antique silver anklets.

Abhilasha has not seen her groom-to-be, nor has any of her female relatives. Her father and uncles have approved of him. No one from the boy's family has seen Abhilasha. Just as she is one of the many children of an impoverished farmer (erstwhile zamindar), the groom is a farmer from a neighbouring village — Narrora. Once there, her mother is confident that all she will have to do is cook well, for which she has been well trained.

More intriguing are the dozens of curious women crowding in the tiny mud room. Some are fanning me vigorously, bringing sherbets, while the neglected bride sulks in a corner. They are very inquisitive, and have many questions for me.

Meanwhile, Abhilasha's house has a solid wooden door (painted electric blue for the occasion) embedded in a mud-plastered wall, an open mud verandah with four small thatch and mud rooms surrounding it. The menfolk are stretched out on a couple of charpayees, while the women huddle in the hot rooms with the children.

The mother of the bride, a wizened old woman but still attractive, is cutting basketfuls of yellow pumpkins which is the traditional vegetable cooked at weddings. It is a sweet-sour preparation served with 'puris' and earthen bowls full of yoghurt and powdered sugar (bura). At times, a spicy potato curry is served on the leaf-plates. The entire village (including the untouchables) is invited to the feast and the thakurs themselves pick up everyone's leaf-plates. The investment is never crippling as most of the material is locally grown and all family members pitch in to help.

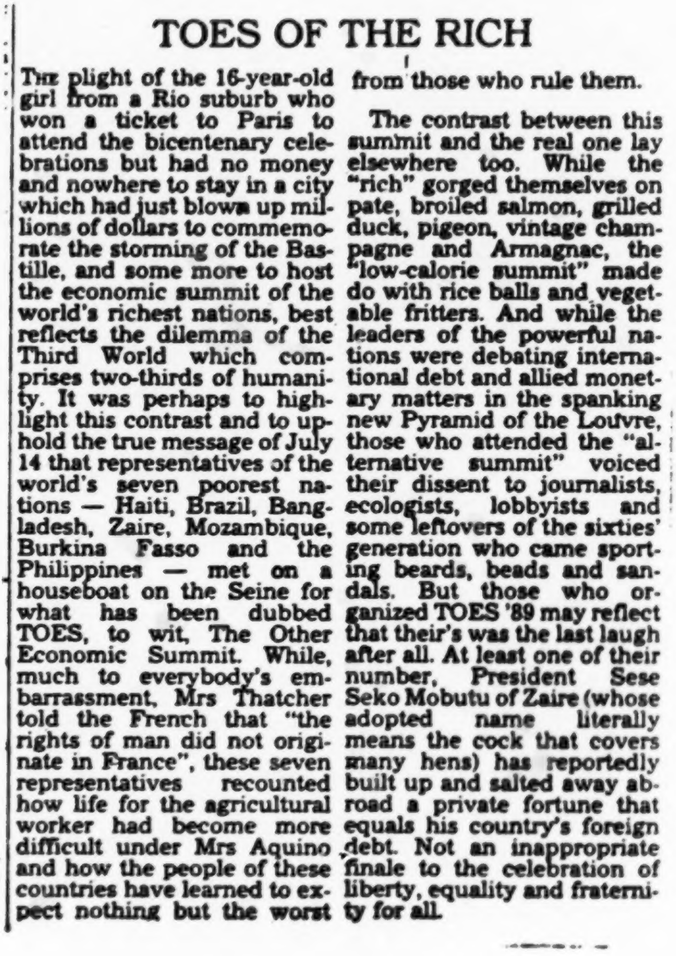
The bride has studied upto class five and appears too young to bear a child or raise a family. When asked, her sisters-in-law giggle helplessly. "Advise the young girl!", they say. Says the elder one: "I have no children. I had a son but he died of 'Sukha' (a local name for dehydration)". At my shock, she adds that the local doctor told her it was not "Sukha" but "Bhuka" (hunger) which killed her child. She agreed with him as she had fed the infant only water even though she was lactating. Now she is expecting again. The other sister has a daughter in her lap. This is the only grand-child around, but how neglected! Skinny limbs, boils on the head and a bad case of prickly heat made worse by the tight nylon shirt the child is wearing.

By evening, the groom arrives to the accompaniment of music blaring from mikes, drowning the song and dance of the village women. A few simple ceremonies with the assistance of the "pandit" and the next day the bride is seen off to her new home amidst more jarring music.

The wedding is over and the village women have much gossip to exchange — what better place for a social get-together than the proverbial village well? Known as "panghat" in Braj Bhasha, the typical common well is situated near the "pokhar" or the village pond, beside an ancient Peepul tree.

By dusk, the women start assembling their empty earthen pots and piling them high on the head, balancing the rest on their hips. Nothing is as graceful as a slim, hard-working village woman, draped elegantly in a colourful cotton sari, swaying towards the well with her pots on her head. They move in bunches and once at the well, it's time for gossip and small talk. The well is the place where a cloistered woman can air her grievances, seek advice from others and exchange rumours. Some take a quick bath fully clad. Pulling the water out of the well is a strenuous task but these women are quite strong.

In Rasmai, the purdah system is strictly enforced, with the veil coming down to the neck. But this applies only to the women who marry into Rasmai, the local girls being free from the hampering veil. The Rasmai girls must observe purdah when they go to their husband's village.



TOES OF THE RICH

The plight of the 16-year-old girl from a Rio suburb who won a ticket to Paris to attend the bicentenary celebrations but had no money and nowhere to stay in a city which had just blown up millions of dollars to commemorate the storming of the Bastille, and some more to host the economic summit of the world's richest nations, best reflects the dilemma of the Third World which comprises two-thirds of humanity. It was perhaps to highlight this contrast and to uphold the true message of July 14 that representatives of the world's seven poorest nations — Haiti, Brazil, Bangladesh, Zaire, Mozambique, Burkina Fasso and the Philippines — met on a houseboat on the Seine for what has been dubbed TOES, to wit, The Other Economic Summit. While, much to everybody's embarrassment, Mrs Thatcher told the French that "the rights of man did not originate in France", these seven representatives recounted how life for the agricultural worker had become more difficult under Mrs Aquino and how the people of these countries have learned to expect nothing but the worst from those who rule them.

The contrast between this summit and the real one lay elsewhere too. While the "rich" gorged themselves on pate, broiled salmon, grilled duck, pigeon, vintage champagne and Armagnac, the "low-calorie summit" made do with rice balls and vegetable fritters. And while the leaders of the powerful nations were debating international debt and allied monetary matters in the spanking new Pyramid of the Louvre, those who attended the "alternative summit" voiced their dissent to journalists, ecologists, lobbyists and some leftovers of the sixties' generation who came sporting beards, beads and sandals. But those who organized TOES '89 may reflect that their's was the last laugh after all. At least one of their number, President Sese Seko Mobutu of Zaire (whose adopted name literally means the cock that covers many hens) has reportedly built up and salted away abroad a private fortune that equals his country's foreign debt. Not an inappropriate finale to the celebration of liberty, equality and fraternity for all.

Blowing of a new breeze

By Prof [illegible] Gandhi

While delivering the inaugural address on the occasion of the assumption of office of President of the United States on 20th January, 1989, Mr George Bush said that "a new breeze is blowing and a world refreshed by freedom seems reborn... the day of dictator is over. There is new ground to be broken and new action to be taken. Instead of focusing on the usual overblown clichés and snappy slogans, revolving around the theme of economic policies at home and diplomatic relationship with other countries of the world, President Bush's address marks a dramatic paradigm shift and sharpen awareness of new alternatives.

What explains the lack on the modern scene today, the road not yet taken, is the neglect of faith and belief in ourselves and without a morality to support this belief. President Bush defines the state of man today, defines our faith and failure; the lights are dim and may go out any moment and it is, therefore, necessary, as he rightly suggests, that we should restructure our relationships based on the sound principles of interconnections and interdependence. Our model of development for tomorrow should be guided by the principles of unity, diversity and generosity. Neither dialectical materialism nor triumphant technology nor a manipulated society of mass media of communication could provide the answer to our manifold problems. In fact, they have created a settled anarchy and confusion of functions in which being and nothingness speak across the peaks and the abyss. Even if the world were to end tonight, that would not prove that human values, such as, love, compassion and understanding have ceased to exist.

George Bush's message to the nation brings to our mind Einstein's deeply moving statement ([illegible] 1950) he wrote "The most important human endeavour is the striving for morality in our action. Our inner balance and even our existence depend on it. Only morality in our actions can give beauty and dignity to life." It is a tribute to the genius of Gandhi that he was able to make morality a living force with his unique principles of Ahimsa and Satyagraha and could [illegible] one of the mightiest powers on this planet earth. Gandhi described Ahimsa that "it was only when I had learnt to reduce myself to zero that I was able to evolve the power of Satyagraha". The foundation of Ahimsa and Satyagraha is [illegible] control and self-discipline. In [illegible], Einstein believed that revolution without the use of violence was the [illegible] which Gandhi brought liberation of India. "It is my firm belief that the problem of [illegible] peace in the [illegible] international [illegible] could be solved only by employing Gandhi's method on a large scale." In [illegible] Note on Gandhi, Aldous Huxley's remarks are extremely relevant and fascinating. He says that "for this dangerous being, on the border line between the animal and the spiritual. What sort of social, political and economic arrangements are the most appropriate? To this question, Gandhi gave a simple and inherently sensible answer. Men, he said, should do their bodily and mental stature, communities small enough to permit of a genuine self-government and the assumption of personal responsibilities, federated into larger units in such a way that the temptation to abuse great power could not arise".

It is against this background of evolutionary paradigm of development, based on the holistic and systems view of life that we have to evaluate the emerging international scenario from a refreshingly positive perspective. Whether one admits it or not, we are witnessing the collapse of materialistic paradigm that has dominated the world thought for many centuries. The Cartesian-Newtonian-Marxist epistemology of development which was deeply embedded in the materialistic philosophical framework and has virtually influenced the [illegible] developmental [illegible] for several centuries had now been [illegible] [illegible] technology [illegible] to the [illegible] experience [illegible] that had brought about the annihilation of life and the environmental disasters. The ecological insights, dealing with the impoverishment of our planet and the degradation of the quality of life, have been for the most part retrospective, after the damage has been done. It is the centuries of interference and indiscriminate exploitation of scarce natural resources that have boomeranged and the evidences of human thoughtlessness about the environment are glaring and even frightening. The world that was ours is a world that is ours no more. Pollution is now seen as part of a much wider peril.

The findings of World Health Organisation have sharply and consistently focused our attention on the suicidal armament race and the stockpiling of nuclear weapons. It is estimated that the super powers now have got in their arsenals over fifty thousand war heads each a thousand times more destructive than the atom bombs which were dropped in Hiroshima and Nagasaki forty years ago. They could come into operation either due to a paranoid streak of a politician or a wrong calculation in computer programming or a faulty silicon chip and trigger off the explosive force, sufficient to blow up our life-preceding universe. When the dinosaurs bowed out after a reign of sixty five million years, they went comparatively gracefully. If and when we go, we will probably leave a charred and ravaged planet, incapable of supporting more than extremely primitive life-form.

It is infact the environmental and economic dimensions of nuclear war that have set in motion the process of rethinking among the superpower about the viability of diplomacy of hot blow and cold blow. Not only the distinction between the victor and vanquished had disappeared in the modern warfare with the emergence of a large number of chemical and industrial plants and nuclear power stations but the complexion of European economy has undergone a dramatic change since [illegible]. Most of these industries depend on synthetic materials which produce various kinds of pyrotoxins when they burn. Even a war with the use of only conventional explosives without

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Blowing of a new breeze

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resort to nuclear weapons will result dozens of chernobyls and several thousands of Bhopal. The environmental dimensions of chernobyls were so disastrous that this explosion adversely affected the quality of food, water and air throughout the Europe.

It is not only the educational campaign of the scientists and the non-governmental organizations of the UN system that compelled the two super powers to evolve new global and strategic options in the context of changes in the international security environment. It is infact the shift in the economic power and the maturing of the world order, based on historic processes of the past four decades that virtually, necessisated paradigm shift from the cold war diplomacy to detente. The regional conflicts, such as the fratricial Iran-Iraq war, the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, Vietnam's decision to withdraw from Kampuchea, the Namibian and Palestine problems, that were seemed to be intractable had either been solved or are moving towards their solution. It is surely no con-incidence that these developments have been followed by the detenate between the two super powers and the historic agreements to eliminate Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles and chemical weapons. This new positive game will shift capital and human resources away from tbe arms race and the danges of Mutually Assured Destruction to the solution of complex and cumulative problems of hunger, disease, ignorance, resource-depletion and over population; By investing to build a new model of humen centred, ecologically sustainable development, the new game will involve new players, primarily Japan and Germany.

The spectacular move initiated by Makhail Gorbachyov against the background of economic compulsions and multidimensional crisis to promote the concepts of Perestroika and Glasnost have virtually brought the world to a turning point and perhaps our planet earth is poised for a major breakthrough.

India too can claim a part of the credit for initiating a peace process through the Six-nations conference culminating in the Delhi declaration.

THE HINDU, Monday, July 31, 1989. ****3

Between you and me

Delhi

DEMOCRACY is caught in the crossfire of scandals and power politics. And the youth and students have not been spared from the phenomenon of power politics at least. The hectic political rivalry among the student groups is part of any city's history and Delhi is no exception.

The partisan stand of youth and students are not bad *per se*. But reason and decency cannot be sacrificed for blind support to the parent organisations.

In a democratic country debate and discussion have an important place and are in fact a valuable means of gauging the people's opinion. And to obstruct such a practice only reflects the anarchic tendencies, remarked a student who was pained by last week's incident at the university where students of rival political streams clashed during a talk delivered by Mr. E. M. S. Namboodiripad on the Opposition members' resignations.

The National Students Union of India (NSUI) volunteers' display of aversion to Mr. Namboodiripad was something surprising and their violent behaviour in storming the venue and clashing with the Students Federation of India members and Democratic Teachers Federation, the organisers of the talk, did not do them any proud.

Whatever their differences with the political organisations or their leaders addressing a gathering in the university premises, the students in general, and those owing allegiance to any stream of political philosophy or organisation, should have listened to him and given their counter views. This after all is the decent and democratic way of expressing their disapproval of the speaker. It is not fair to disapprove summarily the presence of a representative of a political organisation in a forum that too of a person of the stature of Mr. Namboodiripad.

The irked students, who did not approve of the ugly scenes at the Delhi School of Economics where the veteran national leader was speaking, feel that political allegiance apart the veteran communist leader deserved respect as an elder citizen.

Is it the sign of degeneration of values, wonders the student.

* * *

BALLOT for Bottle might turn the Bacchus boisterous but the antagonists virtually forced the mortal followers of Bacchus in a journalists' colony to postpone the opinion poll on setting up a bar in the Club at Gulmohar Park.

The initial enthusiasm of the supporters of the bar is vanishing into trepidation for the antagonists are none other than the formidable personages — the women of the houses. Of course not all women are opposed it seems to the cause. Even the men are divided on the issue. Hence the opinion poll nay 'ballot for bottle'.

It is a Catch 22 situation for the votaries of the 'maikhana'. If the poll rejects the bar they will have the ugly prospect of taking on the angry and 'wealthier members' who had been enrolled as Associate Members at higher fee on the promise of adding a bar to the club and if the Bar is favoured then they will have to face the more frightening prospect of incurring the wrath of their womenfolk.

It was a daunting task indeed and the members must be rung the day they decided on such a sensitive issue of adding a bar to the Club.

No wonder the poll had to be postponed. As a wag put it, when the battle for the bottle resumes, if it does, it might assume the lines of the controversy of according special consideration and concessions to non-resident Indians. Rightly so, says the wag. A battle Royal is in store between the Gulmoharites and non-Gulmoharites (the Associate members, apparently are from the neighbouring colonies), leave alone the missiles of rolling pins and brooms that might have to be taken care of.

* * *

IT is the crisis which brings the best out of man but with the Railways it seems that such a situation makes little impact and it continues to attend to its duty at its own pace and style. This was more than manifest last week when several anxious relatives and friends tried to get the latest information on the fate of trains running several hours late owing to heavy rain and the consequent disruption in traffic enroute.

The havoc brought by the monsoon had naturally raised the blood pressure of those waiting for their near and dear ones and as if to add to the tension came the lackadaisical attitude of the personnel manning the railway information centres at New Delhi railway station.

Or so it seemed going by the experience of the hundreds who thronged the railway stations eager for information on their relatives who began their long journey from as far as Kerala and Tamil Nadu.

Indian Railways that keep boasting of sophisticated communication systems hardly proved equal to the task of providing even approximate information on the fate of the trains, points out a colleague. Even if the information was collected through its communication network it did not seem to have been transmitted to the staff manning the information counter at New Delhi station.

The 'communication gap' was amazing as the queries by the people at the station drew a cold and stock reply '*pata nahin*' (we do not know). The colleague cites another example in which the station staff seem to have been ignorant about the Vishakapatnam coaches that are attached to Dakshin Express or Link Express as it is commonly known.

The much-publicised automatic taped information relayed on telephone on the status of trains (running on time or late) would have made none the wiser. In some cases even after the train arrived the voice on the phone kept on saying that the particular train was "running" 41 hours late.

A reader phoned into to say that when asked about the Kerala Express that left Trivandrum on 21, the inquiry staff kept saying that it was expected to arrive on 25, even though it had arrived at New Delhi station. So, what piques the public is not so much the late running of trains, unavoidable following natural calamities, but the near absence of any worthwhile effort to provide correct information to people.

* * *

THE neat layout of NOIDA might fascinate you. The serene roads and open space as yet not vitiated by the ubiquitous skyscrapers that clutter other cities, might be the envy of many urban planners and the citizens alike.

Indeed, the nameless town of Uttar Pradesh — it lives off borrowed glory of Okhla, bustling industrial estate of Delhi — attracts a large number of settlers for its comparatively cheaper rents and strangely a pollution free air though it houses many an industrial unit.

But this beautiful town ironically suffers from a one black spot — frequent power cuts. It is so regular that the residents have become stoic to the situation. And so it seems from the forbearance of the people living there without any complaint. Or is it the uselessness of such a reaction. In the last one week power tripped on more than one occasion and sometimes it went off twice in a day.

Imagine the plight of residents in summer. If it is a horrenduous experience to bear the heat, the still weather due to absence of enough trees adds to the agony of the residents. The humidity in the monsoon comes as a teaser to the patience of the people.

As if these problems are not enough, the drivers of vehicles also have to put up with blind alleys as it were for the inadequate power supply has left the street lights almost useless.

A colleague who drives home has seldom found the street lamps working. Not all of them could have defective bulbs or wiring so that they are bereft of their glow that lights up the roads. Wonder whether the authority has bothered to address itself to these basic problems or is it content with having set up an enviable industrial township — the super structure without the matching finesse in essential amenities.

* * *

THE anti-smoking campaign has at long last reached the common rustic folks, the type who wield the broom to keep the city clean, or so it seems. Recently, a colleague who was waiting for his wife to finish shopping at a market decided to light up a cigarette to pass time. He desperately searched for his lighter and not finding it approached a group of *safai karamcharis* and drivers for 'light'.

But to his surprise, even as he was given a matchbox, he discovered that the group was involved in a lively discussion on smoking. Apparently, one of them who had given up the habit a few months ago was all excited about his new found stamina. He told his colleagues how even at the end of a busy day he did not feel tired. A more recent convert to his fold, nodded his approval and said he could run again without losing his breath, just as in his childhood.

That talk of stamina impressed the group to no end. For, it reversed the commonly-held belief that a cigarette can provide relief from fatigue, even if it was for a short while. That prompted one of the better dressed members of the group, a tempo driver, who wanted to know how the bad habit could be given up. Suggestions poured in aplenty and he tended to agree with the person who believed in gradual reduction in the number of cigarettes smoked than give it up abruptly. However, those who had given it up warned that the only way to give it up was to stop immediately and never touch a cigarette again. As the group endorsed this view, the driver, a cigarette clenched in his lips, snatched away the cigarette from the mouth of his cleaner and stubbing it asked him never to touch the weed again and certainly not in his presence.

Interestingly, apart from that rustic joke, which had the group rolling in laughter the discussion was carried out in all seriousness. Quite a departure this, for one remembers that as a college student, when travelling on a bus bound for some village an appeal by someone to stub cigarettes was rejected with boos because it was considered to be a harmless symbol of manliness by rustic folk.

* * *

THE lackadaisical approach to situations of men in uniform in the Police Control Room vans in the city roads has left a colleague wondering about their capacity to nab even a minor pickpocket, let alone apprehend terrorists.

A colleague the other day was witness to an interesting drama in a crowded private bus in which the pocket of an elderly man was picked. But more than that of the victim what the colleague found most amusing was the reaction of the conductor. Instead of taking the bus to the nearest police station, as is the normal practice, the conductor went hammer and tongs at the victim.

"One has to take care of one's personal belongings" he barked adding that he could not prevent the commuters from getting down at the bus stop on the way to the police station.

Fortunately, as the bus halted at the next stop in INA Market, the victim spotted a PCR van stationed nearby and approached it for help. Expectedly, the conductor did a *volte face* and ordered that no one was to get down from the bus till the police arrived. Immediately afterwards a speeding PCR van pulled up behind the bus. Without wasting any time the men in uniform began questioning the conductor and the victim.

While the victim and the police were locked in a conversation, people freely alighted and boarded the bus. Next a search was conducted in the half empty bus for the missing wallet.

Meanwhile the remaining passengers in the bus lost all patience and demanded that the bus be allowed to proceed on its journey. But the cop stuck to his gun and tried to impress upon them the anguish of the victim over his loss of money and since this could happen with anyone he sought their cooperation. Moreover the victim had to be satisfied that the police tried to help him in tracking the culprit, the cop said.

As the culprit could not be nabbed the police did the next best thing — that of taking the conductor to task. Taking him to the police station the cops directed the driver to drop the passengers and call at the Tuglak Road police station. What one fails to understand is what the police wanted to achieve when so many people had freely entered and alighted from the bus. A classic case of locking the stables after the horse had bolted. So much for the efficiency of the police.

D.S.R.

* * *

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NAMASTE

The Ghats, Varanasi